A Descriptive Grammar of the Dòmpò Language of Ghana

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ABSTRACT

Dompo is a moribund language spoken by about six remaining speakers who do not actively speak it amongst themselves. There are a few others who have limited proficiency in the language. It is spoken in Dompofie, a small community located in the North-Western corner of the Bono Region of Ghana, West Africa. This thesis provides a description of Dompo based on immersion fieldwork and the analysis of recorded and translated texts. The fieldwork spanned a period of ten months, between October 2016 — March 2017 and June — September 2018. Data for this research include elicitations, procedural texts and narratives (folktales). Four native speakers of Dompo were the main consultants for this project; the remaining two were incapacitated and unable to assist. The four speakers further aided in annotation and verification. This descriptive grammar of Dompo explores the language's phonology, morphology and syntax.

To provide a holistic description of the language, the Basic Linguistic Theory (Dixon 1997, 2010; Dryer 2006) was adapted as a framework. The theory focused on reflecting the naturalness of the language by serving as both a descriptive and explanatory means to succinctly reveal the nature of the language.
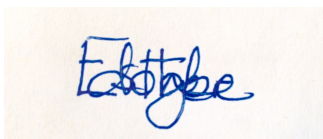
The phonology of Dompo reveals a system of nine phonemically distinct vowels, including two unadvanced vowels /ɪ/ and /ʊ/. There are both oral and nasal vowels that are phonemic in the language. Dompo exhibits a 27-consonant system at 8 places of articulation. The language is a register tone one and reveals the basic level tones, high and low, which show both lexical and grammatical differences in words and sentences. The CV syllable structure is the basic type in the language. Other variant forms are CCV, V and CVC.

The grammatical categories of the major and minor word classes are present in the language. Dompo does not have a rich noun class system but exhibits a small number of prefixes that operate as noun class markers. These prefixes may be remnants of a once active noun class system. All nominal modifiers occur post-nominally in the language. As a largely isolating language, Dompo exhibits a high level of transparency in its grammar. It has preverbal morphological markers to code tense, aspect, mode and negation. Present and past tense are not overtly marked. To a large extent, tonal variation on the bare form of the verb is used to differentiate between the past and present tense. Three closely related paralinguistic forms — ideophones, interjections and particles manifest in narratives, procedural texts, spontaneous reactions and general staged discussions in the language.

The basic clause structure of Dompo is SVO. Clause structures such as relative clauses, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, coordinate clause constructions and serial verb constructions form part of the clause combinations in the language.

STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

Except where reference is made in the text of the thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma. No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgement in the main text of the thesis. This thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

Signed

16th April 2020.

DEDICATION

To the loving memory of,

Dr. Mrs. Franscica Adzo Adjei.

You were an all-giving mother who did not live long to be given. A true epitome of divine love,
undue kindness and true compassion you were. I hope this makes you proud.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

You've been so so good to me

Oh, to think where I would be

If not for you.

As far as heights reach from the depths

As far as East is from the West

So far, YOUR GRACE HAS CARRIED ME.

Hallelujah, I live in REMEMBRANCE.

(Lyrics from the song Remembrance, 2017 Hillsong Music Publishing)

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

1ST	-	First person singular
2SG	-	Second person singular
3SG	-	Third person singular
1PL	-	First person plural
2PL	-	Second person plural
3PL	-	Third person plural
[+ATR]	-	Advanced Tongue Root
[-ATR]	-	Unadvanced Tongue Root
A	-	Transitive Subject
ADJ	-	Adjective
ADV	-	Adverb
BLC		Basic Locative Constructions
C	-	Consonant
CV	-	Consonant-Vowel
CC	-	Copula complement
COND	-	Conditional mood
COMP	-	Complementizer / Comparative
CONJ	-	Conjunction
COP	-	Copula
DEM	-	Demonstrative
DET	-	Determiner
DISJ	-	Disjunctive
DO	-	Direct Object
EMP	-	Emphatic
FOC	-	Focus marker
FUT	-	Future
IDEO	-	Ideophone
INDEF	-	Indefinite
INT	-	Intensifier
INTJ	-	Interjection
IO	-	Indirect Object
LOC	-	Locative
NEG	-	Negative
NP	-	Noun Phrase
NUM	-	Numeral
OBJ	-	Object

PART	-	Particle
PERF	-	Perfective
PROG	-	Progressive
PL	-	Plural
POSS	-	Possessive
PE	-	Possessee
PR	-	Possessor NP
PST	-	Past
Q	-	Question particle
QUANT	-	Quantifier
RED	-	Reduplication
REL	-	Relative marker
S	-	Intransitive subject
SFX	-	Suffix
SG	-	Singular
SUBJ	-	Subject
SVC	-	Serial verb construction
SVO	-	Subject Verb Object
TAM	-	Tense-Aspect-Mode
TEMP	-	Temporal
TOP	-	Topic marker
TRPS	-	Topological Relation Picture Series
V	-	Vowel
V_1	-	Initial verb in SVC
V_2	-	Second verb in SVC
VP	-	Verb Phrase

SYMBOLS

`	-	Low tone
´	-	High tone
ˆ	-	Falling tone
ˇ	-	Rising tone
< >	-	Orthographic representation
Ø	-	null
( )	-	optional element / additional description
/ /	-	Phonemic representation
[ ]	-	Phonetic representation
*	-	Ungrammatical

Chapter 1:   INTRODUCTION

1. 1.   *Introduction*

This research is based on the Dompo language, spoken in Dòmpòfíé (home of the Dompo people), in the North-Western part of Bono Region of Ghana. Dompo is a moribund language with a remaining speaker base of about six people, who do not speak it actively. There are also a few others with knowledge of some word and phrases. Its speakers have rather adopted the dominant areal language, Nafaanra, as a medium of communication. The critically endangered state of the language has necessitated urgent in-depth documentary works on it. Through the efforts of the remaining speakers, children are now acquiring some aspects of the language.

 Dompo had received very little attention and research until Blench's (2007) cursory study of it, in which he advocated for a comprehensive study of the language. This thesis thus attempts to provide a detailed description of the language. It consists of nine chapters based on an analysis of the language's phonology, morphology and syntax.

This introductory chapter explores the language and its speakers (§1. 2.), the Banda district area (§1. 3.), the geographical location of the community (§1. 4.) and the oral history and culture of the people (§1. 5.). It further looks at the linguistic background of the community (§1. 6.), the genetic affiliation of the language (§1. 7.), the speaker population (§1. 8.), previous studies on it (§1. 9.) and the data collection process and the methods used (§1. 10.). Religious and cultural practices of the community (§1. 11.), education and infrastructure (§1. 12.) and economy (§1. 13.) are discussed. Language endangerment issues and factors that have led to the endangerment of Dompo are explored in (§1. 14.). This is followed by a discussion of the measures taken to sustain the language (§1. 14. 1.). (§1. 15.) presents the objectives of the study and contribution of the research to linguistic knowledge while (§1. 16.) explores the theoretical framework used in the thesis. The last section discusses the outline of the thesis (§1. 17.).

Further in the thesis is a discussion on tones and how they manifest in the language (§2. 6.), the language's syllable structure (§2. 8. 1.), and some syllable structural processes (§2.9). The structures of the noun and verb phrases and their syntactic features are examined in (§3. 3. and §4. 2.). How the language marks verbal properties such as tense, aspect, mode and negation are also detailed in (§4.6and §4.9). Sentence types in Dompo (Chapter 5:), some routine expressions and how they are expressed (6.5) are elaborated on. Verbal clauses are discussed in (Chapter 7:). Spatial orientations and the various verbs used to express them are detailed in (§7.6). Clause combinations, including subordination and coordination are discussed in (§8.2and §8.3). Serial verb constructions are described in (§8.4).

1. 2.   Ghana, the Dompo language and its speakers

Ghana is in the Western part of Africa. The last population census in 2010 recorded 24,658,823 people with a growth rate of 2.5% between 2000 and 2010 (Cudjoe & Amoah 2013). There are over sixty languages spoken in Ghana, according to the language map of Ghana in (Figure 1) below. This map, however, may not be exhaustive since it excludes some languages such as Dompo, the focus language of this research. Ethnologue (Eberhard, Simons & Fennig 2019) lists 81 living languages existing in Ghana and further notes that 73 are indigenous while 8 are not. Moreover, 13 are institutional, 46 are developing, 14 are vigorous, 6 are in trouble and 2 are dying.

1 Abron
2 Adangbe
3 Adele
4 Ahanta
5 Akan (4)
6 Akposo
7 Animere
8 Anufo
9 Anyin
10 Avatime
11 Awutu
12 Bimoba
13 Bissa
14 Bondoukou
   Kulango
15 Buli
16 Chakali
17 Chala (2)
18 Cherepon
19 Chumburung (3)
20 Dagbani
21 Dangme (2)
22 Deg (2)
23 Delo
24 Dwang
25 Éwé
26 Farefare
27 Ga
28 Gikyode
29 Gonja (4)
30 Gua
31 Hanga
32 Jwira-Pepesa
33 Kamara
34 Kantosi (3)
35 Kasem
36 Konkomba (2)
37 Konni
38 Kplang
39 Krache
40 Kusaal
41 Larteh
42 Lelemi
43 Ligbi
44 Logba
45 Mampruli
46 Nafaanra
47 Nawuri
48 Nkonya
49 Ntcham
50 Nyangbo
51 Nzema
52 Paasaal (2)
53 Safaliba
54 Sehwi
55 Sekpele
56 Selee
57 Siwu
58 Southern
   Birifor
59 Southern
   Dagaare
60 Tafi
61 Tampulma (2)
62 Tumulung
   Sisaala
63 Tuwuli
64 Vagla
65 Wali
66 Wasa
67 Western Sisaala

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GHANA

BURKINA FASO

BENIN

CÔTE D'IVOIRE

TOGO

Accra

Atlantic Ocean

Lake Volta

WIDESPREAD LANGUAGES
Akan
Éwé
Ghanaian Sign Language
Hausa
Maasina Fulfulde

OFFICIAL LANGUAGE
English

Language Families
Gur
Kwa
Mande

Notes:
1. White areas are sparsely populated or uninhabited.
2. Brackets show the number of times a language's number appears on map, if more than once.

0   25   50   75   100 km

Figure 1. Language Map of Ghana[1]

From our estimation, Dompo has the lowest number of speakers amongst all these languages. On the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption scale (EGIDS), the status of the language can be placed in category 8a and 8b (Eberhard, Simons & Fennig 2020). The descriptions of these two categories indicate that Dompo is moribund. It is furthermore profiled as being in its dying stage which means that the "the only fluent users (if any) are older than child-bearing age, so it is too late to restore natural intergenerational transmission through the home; a mechanism outside the

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[1] http://www.ethnologue.com (Accessed: 20 March 2016)

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home would need to be developed". It also means that the "remaining users of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older and who use the language less actively".

The name Dompo is used to refer to both the language and its speakers. Blench (2007: 1) states that some sources may use the versions 'Ndompo' and 'Ndmpo'. Stahl (1991, 2001) also gives the version 'Dumpofie', in her description of the home of the Dompo people. These versions might stem from Painter (1967), one of the foremost linguists who described Guang languages. Painter's (1967: 30) language map of Ghana, shown in (**Figure 2**) below, indicates a larger Ndmpo (Kwa Akan) group in the Gonja area. He further notes two small Ndmpo speaking areas in the larger Mpanteran (Nafaanra) speaking area. Blench (2007: 1) suggests that Painter might have failed to update his map when he found that only one of his sites spoke Dompo. A visit I made to Buipe, the main Gonja speaking town, revealed that there is a sub-group of Gonja-speaking people called Ndempo. This group of people and the similarity in name to Dompo might be the reason for the confusion in tagging Dompo as a subgroup of Gonja.

The Nafaanras refer to the Dompos as '*kùùlò*' and call the latter's place of settlement '*kùùlò kàtó*' which means home of the Dompos. The Jogos/Gyogos,[2] the people who speak the variety of Ligbi in Kanka and Saase, two neighbouring villages to Dompofie, refer to the Dompos as *Kalah* and Dompofie as *Kalanyã* (Williams 2018: 14-15). As explained by Nana Shiembor Agba II, the chief of Dompofie, *kùùlò* in Nafaanra means 'coil' and this name was given to the Dompos because it was thought that the elders and people were very secretive and did not allow any of their secrets to go out. As one of my consultants further illustrated, the Dompos could easily operate within the 'realms' of the Nafaanras because the former could understand and speak the language of the latter but not the other way around. Stahl (1991: 256) notes that the Dompos consider themselves as a distinct group from the Nafaanras. The identity of a Dompo is tied to their ancestry, that is, a Dompo should be a descendant from the foremost ancestor, Nyíní Wùráchè.

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[2] Jogo is a dialect of Ligbi mainly spoken in the neighbouring communities of Kanka and Saase (Williams 2018: 26).

Figure 2. Language Map of Ghana 2 (Painter 1967: 30)

1. 3. *Banda District Area*

The (**Figure 3**) below shows all the communities under the Banda District area. The Banda District has one traditional area. The original name of the settlement was *Saminako*. Ameyaw (1965: 9) asserts that *Saminako* comes from the soft grass called *semireko* in the Bono dialect. The name was changed to Banda, which is a corruption of the word Woanda 'they did not sleep', because during wars, ancestors of Banda Ahenkro, who were allies of the Ashanti[3] kingdom, did not sleep (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). Owusuh (1976: 103) also posits that during the Mfanti war, where the ancestors of the Nafaanras fought on the side of the Asantes, the Asantes referred to the Nafaanras as "Ba Nda" which means 'they did not sleep' in Twi (Bono). This name was given to the Nafaanras because upon getting to Kumasi to fight in the war, they insisted on going straight to fight the enemy instead of sleeping over first. The Statistical service adds that Nafaanra is the language of the most dominant group in the district. Other linguistic groups include Kologo,

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[3] Ashanti refers to both the territory and the people that occupy the central part of Ghana and are members of the Akan speaking group (Johnson 1970: 20). It is believed that the Ashantis had a great influence on the Banda traditional area. This is evident for instance through the adoption of Akan names (Stahl 1991: 264).

Bono and Lugei. Stahl (1991: 252), however, notes the presence of five ethnolinguistic groups, Nafaanra, Kuulo (Dumpo), Ligby, Mo and Ewe.

Figure 3. District Map of Banda[4],

According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2014), the district was created from the then Tain district in 2012 by the government, because of the latter's large size, which made local governance and implementation difficult. The district is made up of thirty-five towns. Banda Ahenkro is the capital of the district. "The district lies within latitude 7° and 8° 45` North and longitude 2° 52` and 0° 28` West. It covers a total of 2,298.3 square kilometres out of the region's size of 39,558 square kilometers. It also is bordered to the North by the Bole District (Northern

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[4] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Banda_District_(Ghana). (Accessed: 6 March 2017)

Region), South by Tain District, East by La Cote D'Ivoire, and West by Kintampo South District"
(Ghana Statistical Service, 2014).

1. 4. *Geographical location*

Dompofie is in the North-Western part of the Bono Region of Ghana. Painter (1967: 46) give a
map reference of 8˚ 09′ N, 2˚22′. The google map below in (**Figure 4**) shows the location of the
Dompo community. Dompofie is in the Banda constituency[5] and is about 200km from Kumasi,
145km from Sunyani and 65km from Wenchi. It is bounded on the North by Saase, the East by
Gbao and on the South by Sanwa. Some of the other neighbouring villages include Kabrono,
Kanka, Makala, Bofie, Saabiye and Banda Ahenkro. Except for Kanka and Saase where the
dominant language spoken is Jogo, a dialect of Ligbi (Williams 2018), all the other villages speak
Nafaanra. Probably to reinforce their distinct identity, the Dompos have peculiar names for some
of their neighbours. The remaining speakers could recall the Dompo meanings for some of these
communities while they could not remember the meanings of the others. They call Makala, which
is to the extreme West of Dompofie, *nfànà bɔ́ɔ́*. Sanwa is referred to as *hàŋmáá pé*, Banda
Ahenkro is called *lɔ́ŋɔ̀ pè* 'death's pit' while Gbao is called *sámpé. Nsɔ̀ɔ̀ lándɔ̀* 'Muslim home' is
what they call Saase, which is a Muslim community. Kanka is referred to as *sósó* 'up' (because it
is up on a hill) while Kabrono is called *sèm bíbrì* 'bad matter/case'. Saabiye is referred to as
sáápé. Other communities and their names include Dɔɔbɔɔr; *mlɔ̀ káwí*, Bofie; *bùè pè*, Menji; *kìjé*,
Weewa; *wèè ntnɔ̀*, Nsɔkɔ; *mɛ̀ɛ́hɔ́* and Kumasi; *ŋkɛ̃́ɛ̃́*.

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[5] Ghana is divided into electoral areas which enables the electorates to vote for a representative known as a
member of parliament into the Ghanaian parliament. Stahl (1991: 251) describes the Banda traditional area
as being nestled within a range of high hills directly south of the Black Volta bend. She adds that the Banda
area has five ethnolinguistic groups (Nafana, Kuulo, Ligby, Mo and Ewe) and these groups occupy twenty-
five villages; Kuulo is the Nafaanra name for the Dompo.

Figure 4. Google Map of Dompofie[6]

1. 5.   *Oral history of the Dompo people*

The history of the Dompo people, as described below, was narrated by Nana Shiembor Agba II, the chief of Dompofie. He gave this account mainly in Akan and it was translated into English by me. The history was not told in Dompo directly because the chief, though a native of Dompo, does not speak the language. The chief's inability to speak the language indicates that the non-transmission of the language occurred over several generations. In most communities, an elected chief is supposed to be the embodiment of the culture of the people. This includes the fact that he should be able to rule using the language of the community. This is, however, not the case in the Dompo community. The history account in Dompo was thus told by two of my four main consultants, Mr. Kòsí Mílà and Mr. Daniel Kòfí Nàkpà.

Amongst the ethnographic groups in the Banda traditional area as listed in footnote 1, the Dompo are the only ones who claim they are the original inhabitants of the lands (Goody 1964: 194; Stahl 1991: 254). This claim however contrasts with the account given by the Nafanas in Owusuh (1976: 102) when asked if they found any group living in the area when they first arrived. They claimed that nobody was in the area up to the River Tain.

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[6] http://www.sites.googlegroups.com (Accessed: 10 January 2020)

The history[7] of the Dompo people has it that three of their ancestors, namely *Nyíní Wùráchè*, the wife, *Séé Dàfà*, the husband and *Akosua Yélí,*[8] their daughter descended from the sky seated on a tree held by a chain and accompanied by a horse. When they arrived in the area, they had to go in search of water because there was neither water nor food for them. After they searched for a while without being successful, the horse stamped its hoof on the ground and water began to flow from it. This area was named *gbáŋá* 'horse' because the horse had found water for them. The area called *gbáŋá* in Domppofie is a very revered area. Until recent years, the place is said to have contained a water source that served the Dompo community and most of the surrounding communities. These communities could, however, not fetch water on the sacred days of the Dompos. It is claimed that a crocodile family used to live in the water body as well. The people lived amicably with this animal family and could play with them without any apprehension. It is also claimed that the water body dried up because people started weeding the area. As a result of the gods hating the touch of metals (hoes, cutlasses) on the ground, the place became barren. If by any chance the water was filled with sand and the sand needed to be scooped out for the water to flow easily, calabashes were used instead to scoop the water.

About 500 years after the ancestors descended from the sky, a hunter named *Gbáhá* arrived in the area and was asked by *Nyíní Wùráchè* (henceforth Nana)[9] to make his home a bit farther towards the mountain. He objected because he wanted to live with them. Upon the persistence of Nana, *Gbáhá* built a temporary shed a little bit farther from them. One day, *Gbáhá* needed some fire to cook and went to get some from Nana. When he had taken the quantity he needed, he extinguished the rest. Nana, who could not understand why *Gbáhá* had done what he did, sat there crying because she also needed fire to cook. The tree that had brought them earlier descended with fire and she was able to cook what she wanted. Meanwhile, rain had also quenched *Gbáhá's* fire, but he found it difficult going back to ask for fire from Nana because of his previous actions. Nana's daughter saw him lurking around and asked him to come. Nana confronted *Gbáhá* and later cursed him saying "No bad thing will happen in the area without *Gbáhá's* name being mentioned". Another account quotes Nana's curse as "Your household will not hear any good news. Only bad things will follow you". That is thus the reason behind the name of the neighbouring town, *Mákálá* from the word *Mákálálá* 'curse'. Before this discord, *Gbáhá* used to bring Nana and her family the front legs of any animal he killed from his hunting expeditions.

Sometime later, three Northerners, *Dramani,* his wife *Hawa* and brother *Amidu* from Sudan arrived in the area and came to ask Nana to give them a place to settle. Nana then gave them a

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[7] Some parts of the history of the Dompo are corroborated in Stahl (2001: 107-109) though with slight differences in narration.

[8] Initial accounts of the history of the Dompo people narrated to me had the name *Chrà ó Chrà* as the name of the daughter. Subsequent accounts mention the name Akosua Yeli. The Dompo people claim both names refer to the same person.

[9] Nana is a unisex title given to an old woman or man in some Ghanaian tribes. It is also a title given to some chiefs in the southern part of Ghana. Stahl (1991) mentions that it refers to people occupying stool positions.

room in her home to settle in for the night. Deep into the night, Nana heard the beating of pillows and the crying of *Hawa* and quickly went to check up on the sojourners. Apparently, they had been doing this wherever they went but no one intervened so with Nana's intervention, they felt they finally had a place to dwell. Nana gave them a place to settle which is presently known as *kɔ́ɔ́rá* which means 'under' in the Ligbi language. It also refers to the Muslim community *sàasè*. Over time, the unmarried brother *Amidu* left to settle in a nearby village known as *kánká* 'hill'.

Some years afterwards, *Gbáhá* saw a group of strangers in the area, the Nafanas from Ivory Coast, and asked them to ask Nana for a place to settle. They first settled at *Mákálá* but later realized that because of their growing numbers, the place was inadequate for them. Nana subsequently gave them the place formerly known as *Saminako* but now called Banda Ahenkro to settle. The land was very soft and the grass that grew there could easily be uprooted. The land was thus good for farming. Another account in (Ameyaw 1965: 1) has it that when the Nafanas left Kakala, they settled at Tampe, an area which was further west of the Banda hills and now part of the Ivory Coast territory. When the people became over-crowded in Tampe, their leader Kralongo asked his son-in-law Ghagha, who was a skilled hunter to explore the Banda hills for a more spacious uninhabited land. Ghagha returned with information that he had found a suitable place of settlement behind the Banda mountains. This settlement was called Bakala, south-west of Banda Ahenkro, at the base of the mountains. Thus, while the account given in (Ameyaw 1965: 1) does not make mention of there being any other tribe in the area, the account given by the chief of Dompofie suggests that the Dompos were in the area before the Nafanas.

After some time, the Nafanas approached Nana about enstooling[10] a chief to reign over all the other tribes in the area. Nana reminded them that the Mákálás had settled there before them, so priority must be given to those who came earlier. Upon consultation with the earlier settlers, none of them seemed interested in the chieftaincy. *Gbáhá* said he did not have a lot of people to rule over, while *Dramani* and *Amidu* explained that they were merchants who travelled around a lot. They thus were not ready to be tied down to one place. For these reasons, the Nafana were given the nod to rule. They provided the Dompo with a cock and 12 white kola nuts to be used in the installation ceremony.[11] Nana insisted that because the Nafana were visitors on the land, she would have to bathe the selected chief with seven types of leaves seven times in the evening. During this time, the people who were part of this process did not sleep. They kept awake, chewing on kola nuts. When it was nearly morning, the rest of the medicine was used to bathe the chief. In the morning, the chief was enstooled by Nana holding his waist three times before

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[10] The leader of a traditional society in Ghana is known as a chief. Chiefs are enstooled in the southern part of Ghana. Their main throne of authority is the stool. Likewise, the main throne of authority for chiefs in the northern part of Ghana is the skin of certain animals. Chiefs are enskinned in this part of Ghana.

[11] The Dompo used to play some roles in the installation of the paramount chief of the Banda traditional area. Stahl (1991: 256) says that since the Dompo brought a land claim against the Nafana to the District Commissioner, who ruled that neither party could be deemed to own the land and that the paramount chief, because he ruled over both peoples, should be vested with powers to control lands, the Dompo have since then not partaken in the installation processes.

seating him on the stool. It was expected that the leaves that made up the medicine used in bathing the chief would start germinating after a number of days in the spots where the chief was bathed. Once this happened, the Nafana would call the Dompo to come and interpret whether the chief would have a successful reign or not. The Dompo did this based on the quantity of leaves that had sprouted.

Several years after the co-existence of these tribes, Diblo, from the Makala tribe, stood up against the homages and privileges in the form of meat and farm produce that were given to Nana and the Dompos by all the other tribes. This brought about a land dispute. The case was taken to the chief in Ahenkro to be solved but because *Mákálá* was the first area that the Nafanas (the chief's tribe) had settled and had affiliations with, the chief wanted to rule in favour of the Mákálás. The case was adjourned to another day. The other groups hatched a plan to beat up the Dompo leaders when they came back for the hearing. However, this plan was revealed to the Dompos by a native Dompo woman who had married outside her tribe. She warned them to prepare themselves as if they were going for war. The other leaders did not believe her because they felt the other tribes could not be so ungrateful as to want to harm those that had given them places to settle. One of the Dompo leaders named Dawudu, however, wore a smock which served as protection in war situations.

After the hearing, the Dompos won the case and urged the Omanhene to advice them to stay together peacefully. The Dompos were beaten up just as the woman had told them earlier. Dawudu was, however, spared because of the war smock he was wearing. The Dompos, led by Dawudu and Nana Ansoma, again took the case to the police in Kintampo and also added the fact that the chief of Ahenkro had been killing people. The police then came to Ahenkro to search for evidence. It so happened that previously, when people who were considered witches or wizards died, they were not buried. Their bodies were instead thrown away in the forest. It was the remains of these people that the police came to see. They thus arrested the linguist to the chief, Ɔcheame Jato. Jato offered himself to save the king, whose reign would have been over, had he been the one they arrested. Meanwhile, Dawudu had also rented a place in Kintampo to live in for the period the hearing was going on. Whenever he saw Jato being escorted by the police to the farm to fetch firewood as part of the prisoner's duties, he would mock Jato by asking the police officer to ask Jato to come and sell his firewood to him.

Because the Nafanas were displeased with the Dompos being the cause of the arrest of Jato, they asked the Dompos to appease them by giving them a sheep before they would sit to talk about the whole case. The Dompo elders replied by saying they would not even give them a chicken. This has, to a large extent, accounted for the long struggle that still ensues between the Dompos and the neighbouring tribes especially the Nafanas as to who is the custodian of all the lands and also is entitled to the other lands that are not being occupied now. The Dompos claim the Nafanas are

aware that they, the Dompos, were the first to arrive in the area but have refused to give them that privilege.

When Nana was very old, one of her granddaughters accompanied her to a spot in the area where she could rest. After a while when her granddaughter came back to get her, she found her grandmother being swallowed into the ground. All efforts to help her proved futile. Seven days later, a baobab tree started germinating on the same spot. This tree presently exists in Dompofie. The tree's huge branches, instead of shooting upwards, rather grow into the ground. It is a magnificent sight to behold and has become a very symbolic edifice that connects the present Dompos to their ancestors, who they believe have been around them for a long time. The baobab tree is so sacred an edifice that the Dompos do not eat the fruits of the tree. No part of the tree is cut for any reason at all. It is believed that when anyone does this, the person would also receive a cut on that part of his or her body. It is further believed that the water that is stored in the tree's branches is medicinal and can be used to heal some ailments. I have personally been a witness to people coming from in and outside Dompfie to fetch the water stored in the branches, with the belief that it can serve the purpose for which they need it.

The Dompos occasionally have merry-making ceremonies under the baobab tree, where they cook meals with which they pay homage to the ancestors. During significant celebrations by the Dompos, such as marriage, funeral or festival all the other ethnic groups in and around the Dompo community also get involved to show their support.

1. 6.   *Linguistic Background*

Dompo is one of the highly endangered languages in Ghana. The language is highly endangered because its speakers have adopted Nafaanra, a dominant language spoken in all the surrounding villages. The Nafaanra speakers are believed to have migrated from Kakala in the neighbourhood of Jimini near Bontuku in the eastern part of the Ivory Coast (Ameyaw 1965: 1). They later settled around Dompofie. Over time, some of the speakers also settled in Dompofie. As the number of Nafaanra speakers increased, most probably through the absorption of other tribes who came to consider themselves as Nafana (Stahl 1991: 264-266), so did the language also gain prominence over the Dompo language. Nafaanra, classified as a Gur language and belonging to the Senufo group in Ivory Coast and Mali (Jordan 1980; Simons & Fennig 2018), has permeated into the lives of the Dompo to such an extent that it is the language of everyday usage in Dompofie.

Not only is Nafaanra sometimes a medium of instruction in schools, it is also the medium of interaction in the public places like marketplaces and churches. It has now become the first language of the majority of the inhabitants, including the remaining Dompo speakers. Dompo is only used during the annual Fofie festival, when homage is paid to the ancestors, when a person has wronged the gods and a ritual is held to appease them, and during funerals, marriage or

puberty ceremonies, when some of the songs are sang in Dompo. Sometimes, arbitrations are settled in the language, if all the parties understand it.

1. 7.   Genetic Affiliation

The current belief is that Dompo is an isolate. This is based on three hypotheses given by Blench (2007: 14) in which the last alternative hypothesis posits that Dompo may be a language of unknown origin, relexified from Gonja and other languages. He further substantiates this by noting that no names for wild animals in Dompo resembled those in Gonja. Dimmendaal (2011: 326), I believe, drawing from Blench's earlier noted assumptions about Dompo, concludes that the language is an isolate. Personal conversation with Dimmendaal suggested that he considered lexical similarities between languages as not a good basis for implying their relatedness. His preference was more inclined towards the comparison of grammatical structures for which there was no data of comparison between the two languages, hence his conclusion (G. Dimmendaal, Personal communication, May 23rd, 2019). In line with this, I believe that the lack of substantial data on the language that would enhance comparative studies with other languages, to further ascertain its relatedness or otherwise, is the cause of the belief that the language is an isolate.

Dompo has been viewed as related to Gonja by Blench (2007) who argues that Dompo, based on the numerous lexical forms shared with Gonja, could either be a dialect of Gonja that has been heavily influenced by other languages or a Guang language related to Gonja which has been relexified from it and other languages. By this latter assertion, Blench agrees with Painter (1967) who describes the language as a North-Guang language based on lexicostatistic counts. Painter (1967: 25) also posits that the Guang languages are closely related to Twi-Fante, Anyi-Baule and Abidjan Lagoon languages and remotely related to Ga, Ewe, Yoruba, Nupe, Igbo and Bini.

Other sources such as *Ethnologue* (Simons & Fennig 2018) have classified Dompo as belonging to the North Guang branch of the Niger-Congo language family. Goody (1964: 193) also includes it as part of the Kwa-Guang branch. Kwa is a branch of Niger-Congo while Guang is a branch of the Kwa language family. The Guang language family consists of the branches, North, South, North-East and Central Guang languages (Dolphyne & Dakubu 2015: 79).

Dolphyne & Dakubu (2015: 76) suggests that Dompo, spoken in Dompofie is a variety of Gonja and that it could have at one point been a distinct language. A further argument has it that Dumpo or Ndmpo is spoken in and near Gbuipe[12] and has an enclave, Dumpofie, in Banda Ahenkro. To evaluate this, I visited Buipe on 29 August 2018. I spoke with Chief Neripewura Abubakari Kipson who is the secretary to the Chief of Buipe, and two other Gonja speakers, Kubuure Ibrahim and Kwinchiwura. I explained to them that I wanted to find out whether there is a

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[12] Gbuipe, commonly spelt Buipe, is the capital of the Central Gonja District. It is about 180 kilometers from Dompofie.

language group called the Dompo in the area and also the extent of similarity between Gonja and Dompo. They talked about their knowledge of some speakers of Ndempo, a variety of Gonja. They also stated that the Ndempo speakers live in the villages, Kawampe and Kadelso, which are about four or five villages before Buipe.

They also mentioned that Ndempo is a dialect of Gonja and that one way of differentiating the dialect or the people from the mainstream Gonja language is by the use of the alveolar stop sounds /t/ and /d/. They explained that Gonja has /t/ as in *bàtà* 'touch' while Ndempo has /d/ as in *bàdà* 'touch' (in Dompo this is realized as *màtà*[13]). Additionally, they explained that the mainstream Gonja people view the Ndempo as people who are very straightforward. That is, the Ndempo people say the truth as it is and do not mince words. This is, however, contrary to how the Nafana view the Dompo. The Nafana believe that the Dompo are secretive people. I elicited part of the SIL Comparative Wordlist (Summer Institute of linguistics comparative African wordlist) from Gonja speakers in Buipe. At Kadelso, I interviewed Draman Shaibu, Suleman Awudu, Aliu Shaibu and Awudu Malik, who are all native speakers of Ndempo. A cursory comparison between Gonja, Ndempo and Dompo data revealed that the words in Dompo were more similar to the Gonja words than the Ndempo words. It is thus prudent to say from these interviews that Dompo as spoken in Dompofie, is a distinct language and not the same as Ndempo, which is the dialect of Gonja spoken in Buipe.

This research has established that Dompo should not be treated as an isolate but rather, as part of the North Guang language family. Phonological, lexical and social evidence has been presented to suggest that Dompo is more related to some North-Guang languages. A detailed discussion of the summary outlined here is presented in (§9.3). In terms of phonology, the 9-vowel phonemic system exhibited in Dompo is also found in the North Guang languages Chumburung (Snider 1984) and Nkonya (Peacock 2007). It appears the consonant sounds /v/ and /z/ are not found in Guang languages (Dolphyne & Dakubu 2015: 81). These sounds are absent in Dompo as well, thus presenting a more Guang language affiliation.

In terms of lexical evidence, Dompo shares some lexical similarities with some North-Guang languages. (**Table 18**) presents some words that appear to indicate Dompo is similar to some North-Guang languages. Additionally, despite Dompo's seeming loss of its noun class prefixes, some of the ones that have been retained such as *ka-*, *a-*, *n-* and *ny-* are present in other North-Guang languages.

The map in (**Figure 11**) shows a social evidence that could account for the relatedness of Dompo to the North-Guang languages. The map shows the distribution of Guang languages in Ghana and in some neighbouring countries. It shows that Dompo is not too far apart from the other Guang languages. In addition to this is the point raised by the chief of Dompofie, Nana Shiembor Agba II

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[13] Very rarely, I heard the 'b' sound in *mbàtà* in the pronunciation of this word.

who believes that Dompo could be related to Gonja. His reason is that he remembers that from the region Dompo is spoken in, all the way to a part of the Northern Region where Gonja is spoken, used to be a part of one large area. The whole area was, however, demarcated into separate regions by Ghana's first president Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. I have however not been able to ascertain whether this information is true or not, warranting much more systematic study.

1. 8.   *Population*

Blench (2007: 1) reported about 60-70 speakers who had some command of the Dompo language in 1999 and added that about 10 people could remember some obscure words. *Ethnologue* gives the ethnic population as 970 in the year 2000 (Lewis, Simon & Fennig 2015). The 2010 census of Ghana (Ghana Statistical Service 2014) indicated the population of inhabitants in Dompofie was 364, which was made up of 168 males and 196 females. A census I conducted on 2 February 2017 enumerated 676 people living in Dompofie: 189 were males, 214 females and 273 children. Out of this number, only about six people aged 48-96 can speak the language fluently. A few other people aged 53-65 have limited proficiency. These people are the ones that might have heard the language spoken around them when it was still actively used. Relating Blench's estimated 60-70 speakers in 1999 to the number of speakers of the language left at present, it might be concluded that most of the people in Blench's category might have either died or emigrated from Dompofie. Both conclusions, fall in line with what the remaining speakers have revealed when asked why the language has so few speakers. Stahl (2003: 52) recorded that though Dompofie is the only village where the speakers self identify as Dompos, some Kuulos (Dompo) also lived in Banda Ahenkro and Sabiye. The chief, Nana Shiembor Agba II revealed that he knew of a fluent Dompo speaker who lived in Bofie and another who lived in Kumasi. He however doubted whether these Dompo speakers transmitted the language to their children.

Most of the residents of Dompofie have Nafaanra as first language and Akan (Twi) as a second language. Other languages that may be part of the repertoires of the inhabitants include Kulango, Mo, Ligbi, Jula, French and Dagomba. These languages may have been acquired because of areal proximity or through resettlements. Some of the inhabitants mentioned that they had settled in several neighbouring areas in search of greener pastures.

1. 9.   *Previous Studies on the language and literature review*

Previous works on Dompo include 100 words in the language by Painter (1967), animal names transcribed by Cansdale (1970) and a description and location as well as a classification of the language in Blench (2007). Blench further provides a wordlist of 461 words in the language. Goody (1964: 194), in the context of his research on the distribution of Mande languages in the Banda area, talks about the 'Dumpos' and records that the Dumpos and the Brongs seem to be the autochthonous groups amongst other language speakers in the area. These groups are the Ashanti

(Kwa-Akan), Senufo (Gur-Nafana), Koulango (Gur), Degha (Gur-Grusi) and Mande languages (Ligby, Hwela, Numu, Dyula). He notes that evidence of the Dumpos being autochthonous, stems from the fact that they provided the *asaasewura* 'earth priests'[14] for a large part of the area. Stahl (1991, 2001) and Stahl & Anane (1989) also bring to light the history and lifestyle of the Dompo people in her archaeological work in the area and in their research on family histories from the Banda traditional area.

Blench's (2007) research on Dompo was the first linguistic work done on the language. He categorized the work as a working draft and observed that more work needed to be done on the language. In the 11-page annotated word list document which he described as preliminary and a one-shot exercise, he acknowledged the existence of Dompo as a distinct language, despite prior reports of its extinction and of it being described as a submerged clan or an ethnonym. He provided the location of the community and additionally provided an insight into the status of the language at that period.

There are some differences between Blench's (2007) research on some aspects of the phonology of Dompo and what this research discovers. For instance, Blench recorded a probable 7 phonemic vowel inventory which he described as a rapid observation and made a note that long and short counterparts of these vowels could be realized with a larger data corpus. This research, however, identifies two additional unadvanced vowels /ɪ/ and /ʊ/. Blench identified 22 consonant sounds while this research identifies 27. While Blench noted the presence of the voiced fricatives and the voiceless palatal plosive sounds /v/, /z/, /ʒ/ /c/, this study notes their absence. This study identifies the labio-velar sounds /kp/ and /gb/, the labio-velar nasal sound /ŋm/, the palatal nasal /ɲ/ and the labialized sounds /bʷ/ and /gbʷ/ which are absent in Blench's work. In relation to tones, Blench described a two-tone system with no recorded instances of gliding tones. Painter's (1967) research, however, identified a mid-tone in Dompo. Based on the Swadish wordlist, Painter collected 100 words in Dompo and identified the mid-tone in some of the words. This research also identifies, in addition to the two basic tones, the presence of the rising and falling tones on some segments. All these are further elaborated on in (Chapter 2:) of the thesis.

After the note on tones, Blench continued with a wordlist of 461 items, where he made some lexical comparisons to some languages such as Gonja (Guang), Ligbi (Mande), Nafaanra (Gur) and Twi (Kwa), where there were any similarities. He may probably have consulted the last three language sources because of the areal proximity between these languages. Ligbi and Nafaanra are dominant languages spoken in the villages adjacent to the Dompo community while Twi is a lingua franca in several areas of Ghana. He concluded by attempting a classification of Dompo,

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[14] Though Goody (1964) does not mention the role of the earth priest, I gathered from Stahl (1991: 257) that this might have been to purify the lands in the event of ritual pollution caused by violating certain taboos. Stahl (1991: 256) further notes that since the colonial period, the Dompo no longer provided the earth priests. That power rested with the Nafana.

which he was not conclusive about but suggested that Dompo could be an unknown language which had been relexified from Gonja and other languages.

Other reference grammars that have been useful in gaining more understanding of the grammar writing process include (Logba, Dorvlo 2008; Tafi, Bobuafor 2013; Sɛlɛɛ, Agbetsoamedo, 2014; Nkami, Asante 2016; Turung, Morey 2010; Goemai, Hellwig 2011; Lamjung Yolmo, Gawne 2016; Tuwuli, Harley 2005).

1. 10. *Data collection and research methodology*

I first visited Dompofie on 1st July 2015. This trip was to collect some preliminary data and to familiarize myself with the language community as well as the remaining speakers of the language. I met with the chief of the community and the remaining speakers — whose metadata is provided in (**Table 1**) below. We had discussions on my intentions to document the language, provided I got a scholarship to do so. I collected some wordlists in the language using the Ibadan Wordlist manual, a 400-wordlist manual. The Topological Relations Picture Series (Bowerman & Pederson 1992) was also used to elicit data on positional verbs.

After I secured La Trobe University's scholarships, LTUPRS (La Trobe University Postgraduate Research Scholarship and LTUFFRS (La Trobe University Full Fee Research Scholarship), I visited the Dompo community again from the 23rd to the 26th of February 2016. During this trip, I collected some basic data for an initial write-up of the linguistic structure of the language. My four main informants, and a few others who were interested in knowing what we were doing gathered around each day as we went through some elicitations. We worked on video elicitations of 'cut' and 'break' verbs, picture elicitations for positional verbs based on MPI tools, and wordlist elicitations for the Ibadan word list and the SIL comparative word list (Snider & Roberts 2006). We also had elicitation sessions for some kinship terms, greeting systems, naming systems, a description of their system of farming and the history of the Dompo people.

Because Dompo was neither my native language nor a language I spoke, I had to go through a period of immersion where I lived with the language speakers in their community, Dompofie, for a duration of 10 months October 2016 — March 2017 and June — September 2018. On the 12th of October 2016, I arrived in Dompofie, where I spent the next six months living with the people, getting accustomed to their way of life and more importantly, learning their language. Information on my main informants is found in the table (**Table 1**) below. The languages in brackets are the ones they are least fluent in.

INTRODUCTION

Name	Sex	Age	Birthplace	Languages spoken
Kosi Mila	M	87 years born around 1933	Dompofie	Dompo, Nafaanra, (Akan)
Afua Nimena	F	97 years born around 1923	Dompofie	Dompo, Nafaanra, (Akan)
Daniel Kofi Nakpa	M	48	Banda Ahenkro	Dompo, Nafaanra, (Akan)
Abena Kuma	F	78	Dompfie	Dompo, Nafaanra, (Akan)
Nana Shiembor Agba II (Emmanuel Dwirah)	M	67	Dompofie	Nafaanra, Akan, (Dompo)

Table 1. Main consultants

Nana Shiembor Agba II, the chief of Dompofie, sat in all our elicitation sessions and served as the translator of all the sessions. The main code of communication between myself and the speakers was largely in Akan because it served as a lingua franca that we all understood to an extent. Apart from Nana Shiembor Agba II who understands, speaks and writes English, none of the others do. I thus resorted to using English or Akan with him, and he in turn relayed the message in Nafaanra to the other speakers only when I was having challenges with giving the description in Akan. This method was used because Nana did not speak Dompo very well and thus had to translate to the others in Nafaanra. This went on for a while until I was able to learn, to some extent, the Dompo language and also used it with them directly in some instances.

The thesis used various kinds of data: recorded wordlists, video and picture elicitations, staged communicative events and language texts (Hellwig 2003: 7; Sangdong 2012: 2). Word lists were recorded using the Ibadan word list and SIL (Summer Institute of Linguistics) Comparative African Word list (Snider & Roberts 2006) template. The Ibadan word list is a 400-word list developed at the University of Ibadan for gathering vocabulary from West African languages for comparative and descriptive purposes. The SIL Comparative Word List contains a broader wordlist of 1700. They both have the aim of being used as fieldwork tools for comparing words across African languages. The participants were asked to repeat each word three times for clarification purposes. Other elicitation tools used to elicit data on spatial orientations in the language include, the Topological Relations Picture Series (TRPS) developed by the language and cognition group at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen (Bowerman & Pederson 1992) and the Gur Positional Verbs Elicitation Stimuli developed by Samuel Atintono (2010) who is a native Gur speaker. The pear story (Chafe, 1980) was also shown to the speakers for them to describe the events in the film. Videos of 'cut' and 'break' verbs (Bohnemeyer,

Bowerman & Brown: 2001) were played to the consultants and they were asked to describe the action being performed, and with what tool.

There were staged communicative events where consultants were asked to talk about relevant topics in their culture. These included their history, some cultural practices such as farming, the celebration of their festival, their belief systems, narration of folktales and some anecdotes. There was video and audio recording of some songs and activities during puberty rite ceremonies and funerals. A sacred Dompo war song was also audio and video recorded.

Throughout the thesis, the Ghanaian day names that were used frequently in examples are Ama and Kofi. Ama is the name for a female born on Saturday while Kofi is the name for a male born on Friday. Other Ghanaian day names can be referred to in (§3.5.1.2). These two names are used frequently to establish consistency in the thesis.

All these sessions were recorded using a Zoom H4n audio recorder, a canon XA10 video recorder and two AKG C5 microphones. The audio and video recordings constitute an estimation of over 50 hours of recordings. Metadata was created for each session using appropriate codes, initials, numbers and dates. The data collected was subsequently backed up on external drives. There are plans to archive the data after the submission of the thesis. All the data collected was analyzed, glossed, inter-linearized and translated by the researcher, in consultation with the consultants. The analysis was done by incorporating the data into the software, FLEx (Field Explorer) and PRAAT which will all be archived later.

There were 77 recordings of folktales, proverbs and anecdotes. I provide a short summary in English of six of the ones I mostly refer to in the thesis.

1. Folktale 1

    Title: The fowl's peck and the elephant's curse
    Name of storyteller: Afua Nimena
    Date and place: 18th November 2016, Dompofie.

This is a story of a partridge, guinea fowl and a fowl. Elephant was their caretaker. One day, the elephant fed them a heavy meal of termites and they were satiated. The weather was very hot and so the elephant went to lie under a shade. Just when it was about to fall asleep, it felt pecks on its bottom. None of the birds admitted to the act so the elephant beat them until they scattered. He then cursed them by saying that no matter how well they eat, they will never be satisfied. That is why the fowl goes about wiping its beak on the ground as if to say it has not eaten anything.

2. Folktale 2

    Title: Why the dog cannot stop stealing

      Name of storyteller: Emmanuel Dwirah, translated into Dompo by Daniel Kofi Nakpa & Kwasi Mila.

      Date and place: 22nd November 2016, Dompofie.

This is a story of a dog who went to see its friend, the rabbit to help it find a cure to the former's consistent stealing. The rabbit agreed to help the dog and asked the dog to bring pork meat to be dried and used to prepare the cure. The pork meat was put over the fire to dry, with the dog supervising it. The dog spent the whole period turning the meat (when it was not supposed to, but because the fat of the meat was falling into the fire and enticing it), putting the meat under its pillow when the meat was dry (because the dog claimed ants were bothering it) and putting the meat on its head (because it claimed mice were bothering it). The dog eventually ended up eating the pork meat and so the rabbit could not use the meat to prepare the cure. This is why the dog never stopped stealing.

3.   Folktale 3

      Title: Hyena's temptation

      Name of storyteller: Emmanuel Dwirah, translated into Dompo by Daniel Kofi Nakpa & Kwasi Mila.

      Date and place: 22nd November 2016, Dompofie.

This story is about the hyena who went to Mecca and came back and thus was thought of as repentant of doing any form of wrong by the goat. It thus suggested to the dog that they pay the hyena a visit to welcome it from its trip. When they got to the hyena's cave, they explained why they were there. The hyena, who told them that going to Mecca did not imply sparing anyone who came to meet it in its cave, caught the goat and ate it. The dog, however, ran away.

4.   Folktale 4

      Title: The witty spider and the blind crocodile

      Name of storyteller: Emmanuel Dwirah, translated into Dompo by Daniel Kofi Nakpa & Kwasi Mila.

      Date and place: 22nd November 2016, Dompofie.

A spider fell into a river and landed in the cave of a blind crocodile. The crocodile had just given birth, so the spider lied and said it was there to congratulate it, because the spider was scared of being eaten by the crocodile. The crocodile allowed the spider to stay with it. Whenever the crocodile asked the spider to prepare food, the spider would kill one of the children of the crocodile to prepare the meal. The crocodile would enjoy the meal without knowing what was in it. This happened until only one child remained. Then one day the spider tricked the crocodile into throwing it over the water to the land. It was from there that the spider shouted to the crocodile what was in the meals the latter enjoyed so much.

5. Folktale 5

Title: The hand's advice to the mosquito

Name of storyteller: Afua Nimena

Date and place: 21st November 2016; Dompofie.

The body parts ear and hand are anthropomorphized as characters in this story. The ear married its wife, but the mosquito also liked the ear's wife. The hand, however, advised the mosquito against liking the ear's wife. The mosquito did not heed this advice and thus went ahead to still pursue the ear's wife. The ear then cursed the mosquito that it would always be roaming about crying at night without knowing any peace. That is why, when the mosquito passes by the ear and gets hit by the hand, it is as if the hand is telling the mosquito that it forewarned it.

6. Folktale 6

Title: The wicked brother and the crab who told his secret

Name of storyteller: Afua Nimena

Date and place: 21st November 2016; Dompofie.

This story is about a boy and his elder brother. The latter always denied the younger brother food. The only condition on which the boy would get any food was if he knew the name of his elder brother. Before getting to the riverside where he washed the dishes, the boy would eat the last scrap of food that was left in the pan that the brother prepared food in. The crab, who noticed that the boy did not throw any food to it, like the others who came to wash their dishes would, asked the boy the reason. The boy told the crab and the crab in turn told the boy the brother's name. When the boy got home, the elder brother had cooked a sumptuous meal and was about eating. The boy revealed what the crab had told him. This angered the brother who went to the riverside and hit the crab with a stick. That is why the crab crawls sideways.

1. 11.   *Religious and Cultural practices*

Three types of religions are represented in Dompofie. The Christian, Muslim and Traditional religions. Members of Dompofie attend the Catholic, Presbyterian, Pentecost and Methodist Churches. The Presbyterian and Apostolic churches have buildings in Dompofie. The Catholic church is located in Gbao. The Methodist church does not have a building in Dompofie. There are about 5 households that are Muslims. There are also about 3 households that are traditional believers. There are one or two stone-built statues in or near the homes of these believers. These statutes are considered sacred. Homage is paid to them by offering schnapps, eggs and some animals as sacrifices.

INTRODUCTION

The Dompo celebrate the *Fófié*[15] yam festival in either August or September depending on the calendar year. The day of the festival must fall on a Friday, which is a sacred day known as *pɔɔwɛ́*. The sacred days are counted backwards. Thus, if it fell on a Friday this week, the next one will be observed on Thursday, then Wednesday, Tuesday etc. This means that in every week, there will be a day classified as a sacred day. The days that the *pɔɔwɛ́* falls on are regarded as days of rest in Dòmpòfié. The people do not go to the farm on such days. The Friday that the day falls on is called *Fófié*. It has been alleged that because of modernization, the people who identify as Dompo hardly observe these sacred days.

The narration of the events that occurred during the festival as described below, was witnessed by the researcher on the 14th of September 2018. Prior to the celebration of the festival, each Dompo household should have harvested several tubers of yams to be used in the celebration and to be shared with other members of the community. Each household may also contribute to the buying of a cow, which will be shared amongst the buyers. The day before the festival, the cow is killed, and the yams are shared. The female caretaker of the god washes all the white clothes to be used. She also cleans the stools and all other things to be used on the festival day. In the early hours of the celebration day, she cooks some of the yam and mixes some mashed yam with palm oil. The rest of the mashed yam is mixed with salt for the preparation of some rituals. A rooster is first slaughtered to honour the dead forefathers. If the ancestors accept it, then the people move to the abode of the god. They perform some rituals and put the mashed yam with salt in a bowl for the fetish to eat. The elders then go in and pay homage by killing some roosters. If the ancestors accept this homage, the roosters will lie dead on their backs. Otherwise, they have to continue killing them until the roosters lie in the desired position. Once the homage is accepted by the gods, the people move to the baobab tree amidst singing and playing of the double gong with a stick. The significance of the baobab tree has been elaborated on in the latter part of the history story of the Dompos in (§1. 5.) above. Once there, there is more singing and dancing. After a while, they walk back to the abode of the fetish. The male priest pours libation there and everyone disperses to prepare for the afternoon activities. There are notable social activities that take place on the day of the festival.

Thus, as a custom, the young males between the ages of 8-15 wake up at dawn to pound yam and prepare soup using melon seeds. During the daytime, the young females also have their turn to cook this same meal. The females are allocated cooking slots under the sacred baobab tree. After the cooking, the chief and all Dompos, including those who have travelled from other towns or settlements gather under the tree to celebrate some more. The caretaker of the god sits under a

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[15] Fofie yam festival is also celebrated by the Nafaanras in the month of October (Ghana Statistical Service 2014). Fofie means Friday in the Akan tradition. Akan is the language of the people called Akan, who occupy a large portion of the Southern sector of Ghana (Agyekum 2006: 206). Agyekum categorizes the day name Fofie (sacred Friday) under the term temporonym and this refers to the period of birth which may relate to sacred days in the Akan calendar.

portion of the tree to receive the foods prepared by the young ladies. The young ladies take turns in giving him their food and he further takes some of the food and puts it on the ground for the ancestress, *Nyíní Wùráchè*. He returns the rest of the food to the one who offered it. At this point, the young males who already ate their share of their festival meals attempt to take the food. It must be mentioned that they use long sticks in poking and picking meat from the unaware young female cooks who leave their cooking unattended to. It is their way of creating fun, they explained later, when I asked them their reason for doing this.

While the food is being presented to the ancestress, the older women also gather and sing Dompo songs. At one point, they play the game called *ampe*, which is supposed to be played by children. *Ampe* is a game played by two females. Each person has a pre-established preference for the pattern of the legs displayed after jumping. A player is awarded a point when the outcome of leg display is consistent with their pre-established preference. The game is won with the highest number of points accumulated by either of the players. They take turns in playing this game and heckle the losers of the game. It is assumed that during this day of celebration, the women let themselves go and remember their young and youthful days.

Prayers of thanksgiving are said to the ancestors for their protection of the community throughout the previous year and for giving them a good harvest. There is continuous prayer for peaceful life, prosperity, safe travel and guidance for all members of the community. There are also prayers for relatives in other parts of the country. They pray that these people will be prosperous in everything that they do, so when they come back to the village, others may benefit from them. This is also a time when family disputes are settled amicably.

The Dompos practise the matrilineal system of inheritance whereby children benefit from their matrilineal lineage. Thus, the son of a current chief cannot succeed him. Any of the available male or female children of his sister may be the one to succeed him.

1. 12. Education and Infrastructure

Most parents in Dompofie strive for their children to have an education. They believe since they did not have the opportunity to have a good education, their wards should have the chance they never had. Basic education in the community starts from kindergarten. Dompofie Presbyterian Primary School starts with a kindergarten class for children from the age of about 3 years. Then there is Primary 1 to 6. The lower classes, 1-3 are in a three-classroom block and likewise are the upper classes 4-6. The two-unit blocks are divided by a grassy area which leads to the trees under which the kindergarten classes are held. On the buildings are the inscriptions 'renovated by GPEG' (Ghana Partnership for Education Grant). This is a partnership between the Ministry of Education, Ghana Education Service and USAID (United States Agency for International Development) to support literacy activities in primary students (Ministry of Education & Ghana

Education Service, 2013). These renovations were done in 2015. In front of the Primary blocks is what should have been an ultramodern classroom building which was started by the previous government but has not been completed.

Dompofie United Junior High School is the next level of education after the Primary school. There are three classrooms, J.H.S 1-3 and a staff room in the unit block. After completion of this level, the students either further their education at the district's Senior High School, Bandaman Senior High Technical School, which is close to the community Gbao[16] and about 2.5 kilometres away or move to other Senior High Schools outside the district. Some students unfortunately do not get the opportunity to continue with their education mostly because of financial constraints on their parents. Others also move out of the village to other big cities such as Kumasi, Sunyani and Accra, to seek greener pastures.

There are a number of houses built with cement in Dompofie. Some of the older houses were built with clay and over time, as the clay surface became weak, cement was used to coat over the clay to give it a modern look. The majority of homes in the community do not have in-built bathroom and toilet facilities. The bathrooms are built outside the homes with a number of houses sharing the facility. The same applies to the toilet facility. KVIP (Kumasi Ventilated-Improved Pit), a pit latrine built by digging a deep hole in the ground and a shelter over it, is the most popular in the community. These latrines are usually located outside the homes of the owners or at a central place where a number of households share in their usage.

The community enjoys a relatively stable electricity usage because of the Bui dam, which is the second largest hydro-electric generating plant in the country. The dam site is about 20 kilometers from Dompofie. There are about four boreholes for community usage in Dompofie. There is a levy that is paid by community members to fix any one of them when it is faulty. Most parts of the road leading to Domofie are not asphalted. The main road leading to Banda Ahenkro, the district capital, is asphalted from Gbao. The distance between these two towns is about 1.8 kilometers.

1. 13. *Economy*

The major livelihood of the people in Dompofie is farming. Most of the inhabitants have their farms several kilometers from the village. They thus either cycle or trek about 3 kilometers or more to their farms early in the mornings and return in the late afternoons. Because of the distance to the farms, they mostly would build a shed at the farms and keep some cooking utensils there where they prepare their lunch and eat before coming home. Some of the major crops they cultivate are yam, cassava, groundnut, melon and cashew. They mostly cultivate the first two

[16] I was not able to establish the exact location of Bandaman Senior High Technical School. The Dompos allege that the land that the school is on and other nearby lands in the vicinity belong to them. They are thus in contention over these lands with the Gbao people.

products on a subsistence basis. Cashew planting is the most lucrative product during January to March with a peak period in March. After harvesting, the farmers sell the nuts to buyers for some good money. Melon is also planted for its seeds which are used in preparing soup. The hard outer-shell of the melon is carved into a calabash and sold. Most of the women in Dompofie support their husbands in their farm work. The children do the same, particularly on weekends. Some of the inhabitants also rear fowls, goats and sheep on a free-range basis.

1. 14. *Language endangerment issues and factors that may have led to the endangerment of Dompo*

The importance of language cannot be over emphasised. It binds a community and identifies them as unique. It serves as the medium through which ideas are formed and manifested. The same medium is what is used to preserve those ideas. It thrives most when its speakers carry it along as they face various challenges. Out of the over 6,000 languages (Moseley 2007, Krauss 1992) estimates that about 90% of the world's languages would become severely endangered by 2100. UNESCO adHoc expert group on endangered languages have also opined that about 90% of the languages in the world's regions will be replaced by dominant languages by the end of the 21st century. Though Africa is home to about 2,000 (25%) of the world's languages (Crystal 2000: 3; Dimmendaal and Voeltz (2007: 579), it is also the continent with the highest number of endangered languages (Grenoble & Whaley 1998).

A language is endangered when it is on the path towards extinction. When it is used in an increasingly reduced number of communicative domains and when its speakers cease to use it, it is in danger. Furthermore, when its speakers cease to pass it on from one generation to the next, a language is endangered (UNESCO adHoc expert group on endangered languages: 2003). Finally, an endangered language is a language that is at risk of losing all its speakers (Hoffman 2009). Language endangerment, thus, primarily leads to the loss of social identity and the loss of a culture. Additionally, human diversity is reduced each time a language is lost. In effect, linguists cannot study the uniqueness of languages and propose theories that will aid in comparative studies. Moreover, future generations may never know or enjoy that sense of belongingness.

Amongst the general causes of language shift and loss include social, economic, cultural, political factors and attitudinal issues. Social factors account for language shift when pressure from a wider society forces a minority group to shift to using the dominant language of the wider society. The need to effectively communicate in a dominant language to enhance economic stability may be the reason why a group of speakers of a language would shift to using another language. When the culture of a dominant group is adopted by a minority group, the minority group also learns the language of the dominant group to better understand their culture. This provides a premise for language shift to occur. Governmental policies that place some languages at an advantage over others, by giving it representation to be used in schools, print media and on radio

may account for political pressure on the language groups that are not represented to shift to using these languages that are. The attitudes a language group might have towards their language may go a long way to determining whether there would be a shift to using another language or not.

In September 2018, I conducted interviews and questionnaire sessions to 100 residents of Dompofie. Amongst the questions I asked was their attitude towards the Dompo language. More than half of the 34% respondents who identified as native Nafaanras saw Dompo as a language they would have loved to speak. All the 66% respondents who identified as native Dompos claim they hold the language in high esteem because it is their ancestral language. Majority bemoan not having the opportunity to acquire it. I thus deduced that the shift from using Dompo to Nafaanra by the native Dompo speakers might not have been a case of subjugation by the dominant Nafaanra group or low self esteem of the Dompo speakers or even negative attitudes towards their language. In my estimation, I believe the Dompos exhibit a genuine pride in their language. They have however not been able to translate this pride into their daily lives because of their inability to transmit it to the younger generation.

It is difficult for this thesis to provide a holistic account of the changes that have occurred to get to the period where there were only about 60-70 people with some command of the language as recorded in (Blench 2007: 1) and a remaining speaker population of about six people recorded in this thesis. Neither Blench (2007) nor the remaning speakers have been able to establish the causes of a shift from using Dompo to Nafaanra either then or now. What the thesis has however attempted to do is to seek the opinions of some Dompo natives which reflect their personal challenges with acquiring the language. Aside this, some also gave their views on what the general atmosphere was like in Dompofie several years back, which one way or the other inhibited the successful transmission of the language. To a large extent, I believe the points raised in the discussion below align with what looks like some underlying factors that may have caused a shift in the use of Dompo to Nafaanra.

I asked some native Dompos why they had not acquired the language. The chief of the village explained that he was not born in Dompofie. Though he was born to Dompo parents, he was raised in Banda Ahenkro, where Nafaanra is spoken. Also, his education and training as a teacher led to his being away from home for a long time. When he finally settled in the land of his parents, he felt he had passed the stage where learning the language was possible. His thoughts on the major cause of the downfall of the Dompo language with the elevation of Nafaanra concerned the era when there were intermarriages. He claimed that the previous generation of kinsmen were very strict on the Dompos marrying their own. They thought this kept the language very intact because Dompo was the only language everyone knew and spoke. Over the years, when those strict kingsmen passed on, ideas became liberal and rules began to be broken. The Dompos started marrying from outside their tribe. This meant that they mostly married the Nafaanras.

INTRODUCTION

A woman I spoke to claimed that both her parents spoke Dompo very well and could easily have transmitted it to her and her siblings, but for her father deciding to take on a second wife. She said her father married a Nafaanra woman and brought her to live in the same household with her mother. It happened that whenever her father and mother or her mother and other neighbours were speaking Dompo, the Nafaanra woman would become offended and claim her rival was gossiping about her. This therefore inhibited the constant usage of Dompo in her house and subsequently led to its total abandonment. All this while, the Nafaanra men and women were increasing through marriages and resettlement and their language was gaining more ground.

Some younger men I spoke to also claimed that when they were growing up, their parents did not want to teach them the language because their parents did not want them to understand it. One explained further that whenever they had been bad at home and their parents wanted to punish them, they made all the disciplinary plans against them in Dompo and because the children did not understand the language, they were not in the know regarding these plans. He recounted that whenever they felt their parents had forgiven them for their deeds, that was when instead, they pounced on them and beat them. Thus, their parents thought that if the children also spoke the language, it would thwart all the plans they made against them and so they preferred that the children did not know the language. Moreover, children who knew some Dompo were discouraged from sharing it with their peers in school, lest the language be exposed to 'outsiders'.

When I asked my oldest male consultant why Dompo was not being transmitted to the younger generation, he claimed that the young people do not respect the elderly and so do not want to sit with them to be taught the language. He also said the young people do not go to the farm nowadays with the elderly and so an opportunity which could have been used to teach the language had not been made use of by the young people. This, he said was exactly how he taught my youngest consultant the language.

Others who also expressed their opinions claimed that they witnessed the Dompo language being used as a sort of secret language only between those who could speak it, to somewhat gossip about those who could not. Accordingly, they remembered particular words which meant 'he/ she is coming' in Dompo used by the Dompo speakers to indicate that the person they were talking about was approaching.

From all indications, it looked as if the older generation considered the language a very revered one that was not to be used by outsiders. It is now gradually dawning on them that their once revered language could in the near future, if not sooner, be no more. They now lament over its near loss, and to no other language than Nafaanra.

While in the field, I also observed that some of the remaining speakers at times lacked the patience to sustain the interest of the children while teaching them the language. Other times, I

also noticed that my youngest consultant naturally switched to Nafaanra to explain some concepts to any of his children to whom he was earlier speaking Dompo. I encouraged the speakers by reminding them that the acquisition of the language was a process which can get better with time and with more practice.

1. 14. 1.   *Measures taken to help sustain the language*

Over several years, the Dompo speakers have seen first-hand the effects of not actively transmitting their language to the younger generation. They have 'unknowingly' watched on as their language has declined in its usage and Nafaanra, has become the first language of the younger generation. They have, however, not relented in their efforts to correct their mistakes over the years.

An adult literacy class was organised for the learning of the language some years ago. This was mainly attended by the females in the community who could not speak the language. This laudable initiative did not prevail, because of the subsequent decrease in the number of attendees due to certain personal reasons. Constant reprimands by a fluent speaker to new learners of the language generated a lack of interest in some of the learners.

The chief of the community also revealed that he had conducted some lessons in Dompo for his children. He mainly taught them some vocabularies in the language. This, however, could not be sustained. In March 2016, work on writing a descriptive grammar of the Dompo language began. This foremost extensive research aims at describing every aspect of the language as well as the culture of the Dompo people. It is believed that this document on the language will go a long way to empower the speakers and build in them a sense of pride. It is also hoped that even in these times when the language is critically endangered, the remaining speakers, through this grammar will build resilience and still transmit the language to the children.

This resilience paid off when in July 2018, the eldest speaker of the language championed the cause of teaching Dompo to the children in the community who were interested in learning it. The children gather around in his house on most evenings during the school holidays and in the evenings on weekends when school is in session. He started with teaching them names for body parts in the language, some vocabularies of household items and animals and some basic sentences. We then put together a 49-page learner's manual which contains, among other things, images of animals and body parts, with words and sentences and their meanings in the language. This is to enable the children to better relate the language to concepts.

To further aid literacy works in the language, two sets of books, containing five folktales each, have been compiled. Some of these folktales were told by two of the remaining speakers of Dompo as part of a session that sought to elicit information on the culture of the Dompo people. Some others were also narrated in Nafaanra by the chief of the community and were translated

into Dompo by the speakers. It is believed that these are essential cultural heritages that focus on their value systems, and that are being transmitted through these folktales. All the illustrations and editorial work have been done for the books. The last stage is to get a publisher for them. Funding for the illustrations was provided by the Social Research Assistance Platform, La Trobe University.

1. 15. *Objectives of the study and contribution of research to linguistic knowledge*

Though this study might be limited in the sense that data was collected from the very few remaining speakers of the language, this foremost in-depth study aims to provide a holistic documentation of the language. This holistic approach has included the observation, description and explanation of the language in its natural context.

It is the aim of this research to provide a manual of data collected and transcribed for the language. This includes wordlists based on the SIL wordlist, some folktales in the language, some sentence elicitations and some procedural texts. This data will be archived. Though it is not certain yet where the data will be archived, there are plans to archive all the data from this research. This is essential for the speakers, the community, other learners of the language, and linguists. It will also be helpful for people doing comparative studies, anthropologists, language policy makers and other bodies that find language issues, particularly endangered language issues important.

The main contribution of this research to linguistic knowledge is the large body of data it presents from a language considered to be an isolate. The corpus can be a tool for gaining insight into the linguistic structures of this language and further enhance comparative studies with other non-endangered and endangered languages.

Though this study has not been able to prove definitely the language group Dompo belongs to, it is of the opinion that Dompo should not be classified as an isolate. (§9.3) details some features of Dompo that suggest its relatedness to the North-Guang language group. Additionally, data from this research lends itself to be analyzed and fully compared to other languages of the North-Guang group, a group that some scholars suspect Dompo to be a part of.

This grammar serves as a repository of cultural and intellectual knowledge of the Dompo language, for the Dompo community and beyond. For the very few remaining speakers of the language, it serves as a beacon of hope — a hope they have kept alive for so long and which is finally materializing. This hope also comes with the knowledge that their language is vital and worthy of respect and usage. This status, however, comes with an extra responsibility on their part to see that the language — if not all, then some aspects of it — has been passed on to the next generations.

Literary materials have been produced from part of the corpus for learners of the language. They incorporate basic word lists based on the SIL Wordlist and some basic elicitations focusing on introducing oneself. Other parts of the corpus, that is, folktales in the language have been adapted with illustrations attached, in a story form. It is believed that these efforts will enhance literacy works in the language and provide a good ground for the learning of the language. Furthermore, this could go a long way to preserve the cultural and linguistic heritage of the people.

1. 16. *Framework: Basic Linguistic Theory*

Grammar writing is not set in stone. There are certain ideologies that may influence the direction of the writing. This thesis follows the ideas of the Basic Linguistic Theory (Dixon 1997, 2010). Dixon (1997: 132) describes it as "a fundamental theoretical apparatus that underlies all work in describing languages and formulating universals about the nature of human language". He further explained that working with the theory allows for a more analytic perspective in answering certain language questions, with the provision of justifications for concluded answers. Dryer (2006: 210) also describes it "as a dominant theory assumed in descriptive grammars". It encourages the analysis of language from the perspective of traditional grammar while also accepting the influence of modern theories (Dryer 2006: 12). The theory is distinctive in its opposition to the description of languages using European language concepts as a focus. Languages are rather described on their own terms. One unifying opinion propagated by these two proponents of BLT is the fact that they reject the ideas of other 'theoretical' linguists that classify the theory as 'merely' descriptive. They opine that the theory is both descriptive and explanatory and adequately serves its purposes just as the other formal theories do. Chelliah and de Reuse (2011: 282) also comment about BLT, stating that though not every linguist will consider the theory as a complete one for the description of language, "the theory refers to the common canon of terminology and basic linguistic knowledge which every modern linguist, regardless of theoretical orientation will consider his or her own". The theory has the underpinnings of describing languages holistically, with a focus on how language is used to bring out the various meanings intended, as succinctly as possible. Thus, it champions the cause of bringing out the ingenuity of the language through its usage.

The theory promotes the description of language in its natural context. To align with this, the data collected on the Dompo language was described based on how the language was used, how meaning was conveyed through context and how interpretations of these meanings were arrived at. All the data on Dompo presented in this thesis stems from the perspective of the Dompo speakers. The analysis has also been done with evidence from the point of view of the language. It is believed that this process of letting the language speak for itself will lend readers the opportunity to appreciate the language. It will also fulfill the purpose for which this grammar was written — to be comprehensive, descriptive and long-lasting.

1. 17. *Outline of thesis*

The thesis is made up of 9 chapters. The chapters are outlined in such a way as to make it easier for the reader to navigate from understanding the background of the Dompo language and its speakers to knowledge of the language's phonology, morphology and syntax.

Chapter 1 highlights the Dompo language, its speakers and their history. It further details the geographical location of the speakers, their religious and cultural practices, the language's genetic relation and previous researches conducted on it. The chapter further outlines factors that have led to the endangerment of the language, some measures taken to help sustain the language, the objectives of the study, some research questions, the major contributions of the research to linguistic knowledge and the data collection and research methodology. Chapter 2 concentrates on the phonology of the language. It describes the sounds, syllables and some syllable structural processes. It continues with tonal analysis of the language. The chapter further concentrates on some phonological processes which include vowel harmony, labialization and nasalization. Chapter 3 and 4 present the morphology. Chapter 3 focuses on nouns, noun phrase and nominal modifiers such as adjectives, pronouns and determiners. Chapter 4 discusses verbs, verb phrases and verbal modifiers. The chapter further talks about tense-aspect-mode and negation in the language. Chapter 5 discusses sentence types and functions in the language with a concentration on declarative, interrogative and imperative sentences. Further in chapter 6 is a discussion on paralinguistic forms such as ideophones, interjections and particles in the language. Some routine expressions are elaborated on as well. Chapter 7 outlines the verbal clause structure and clause types in the language. Some topics covered here include copula clauses, identity copula clauses, attribution copula clauses and basic locative constructions. Chapter 8 further discusses clause combinations with a focus on coordination, subordination and serial verb constructions. The thesis concludes with a summary, some features of Dompo that may suggest its relatedness to North-Guang languages, some limitations of the study and some recommendations in Chapter 9. There is an appendix made up of wordlists, transcription of folktale narratives and some procedural texts.

Chapter 2: PHONOLOGY

2. 1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the components of the phonology of Dompo. It begins by describing the vowel system in (§2. 2.). Sections under the vowel system include oral vowels (§2. 2. 1.) and nasal vowels (2. 2. 2.). Vowel length is discussed in (§2. 3.) while distribution of vowels in Dompo is treated in (§2. 4.). Subsections under this include, vowel harmony (§2. 4. 1.), ATR harmonies in roots/stems of words (§2.4.1.1), in phrases (§2.4.1.2) and in sentences (§2.4.1.3). This continues with the consonant system in (§2. 5.) and the distribution of consonants in Dompo in (§2. 5. 1.). The chapter further looks at tonal system in (§2. 6.), basic tones in (§2. 6. 1.), tone combination (§2. 6. 2.) and functions of tone (2. 6. 3.). Tonal variations are explored in (§2. 7.) while the syllable is discussed in (§2. 8.), followed by the syllable in Dompo (§2. 8. 1.). Some phonological and syllable structure processes in Dompo are also analyzed in (§2.9).

2. 2. Dompo vowel system

Blench (2007: 2) recorded a probable seven phonemic vowel system for Dompo and added that with a larger lexical data corpus, long or short counterparts may also exist. The current study establishes that Dompo has nine phonemic oral vowels which include the unadvanced vowels /ɪ/ and /ʊ/. Like Akan and most Tano languages which have a nine-vowel system — the vowels /i/, /ɪ/, /e/, /ɛ/, /a/, /ɔ/, /o/, /ʊ/ and /u/ (Dolphyne & Dakubu 2015, Peacock 2007) — Dompo also exhibits the same vowel system.

2. 2. 1. Oral Vowels

The oral vowel system shown in (Table **2**) below, incorporates vowels that are produced with an advancement of the tongue root (+ATR) and those that are produced with a retraction of the tongue root (-ATR). The sounds /u/, /o/, /ʊ/ and /ɔ/ are all back vowels with lip rounding. The front and central vowels /i/, /ɪ/, /e/, /ɛ/ and /a/ have lip spreading and thus are classified as unrounded vowels in Dompo.

	Front		Central	Back	
	-Round		**-Round**	**+Round**	
	+ATR	**-ATR**		**+ATR**	**-ATR**
Close	i	ɪ		u	ʊ
Close-mid	e			o	
Open-Mid		ɛ			ɔ
Open			a		

Table 2. The vowel system of Dompo

Observe how these vowels are manifest in words in the examples below.

1. /**i**/   *yí* 'tree', *wìsì* 'rest', *wí* 'thorn', *nyìsì* 'eye', *nyììró* 'face'

    /**ɪ**/   *píní* 'mortar', *nyíní* 'push', *kìnà* 'refuse', *kágbíní* 'heart', *kíní* 'look/watch'

    /**e**/   *wèsè* 'pound', *wélé* 'crawl', *tré* 'call/ summon', *sèpè* 'ear', *sré* 'waist'

    /**ɛ**/   *yè* 'say', *wè* 'snake', *sèndè* 'sheep', *pépré* 'red', *pré* 'monkey'

    /**a**/   *wàsà* 'cough', *sáŋè* 'untie', *sà* 'three', *pùlà* 'bury'

    /**u**/   *wú* 'die', *púrí* 'bag', *sèŋúnú* 'tortoise', *wúrá* 'chief/king'

    /**ʊ**/   *ntònɔ̀ pé* 'anus', *kɔ̀nɔ́* 'neck', *káŋònɔ̀* 'nose', *kágbʊ́nɔ́* 'chest'

    /**o**/   *sló* 'elephant', *pò* 'stew/soup/sauce', *lò* 'weave', *kló* 'door'

    /**ɔ**/   *yɔ́* 'go', *trɔ́* 'fall', *prɔ́* 'mould', *sɔ̀nɔ̀* 'seven', *tɔ́* 'buy, roast'

All the vowels in Dompo have been identified to be phonemically distinct. Following the observation of the treatment of the unadvanced high vowels /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ in Asante (2016: 28), I also argue that these two vowels are distinct and are used in some words in the language. Example (2) shows some minimal pairs. Examples (k and l) however show instances of near minimal pairs of the distinction between i/ɪ and u/ʊ.

2.   **SOUND**   **MINIMAL PAIRS**

     a. o/u   *pló*   'toad, frog'   *plú*   'navel'

     b. o/a   *trò*   'father'   *trà*   'be blind'

     c. i/ɛ   *káwí* 'town'   *káwɛ́*   'calabash'

     d. o/ɛ   *gbó*   'buffalo'   *gbɛ́*   'witch'

     e. ɛ/a   *flè*   'moon'   *flá*   'rope'

     f. ɛ/e   kré   'delay'   kré   'plait'

     g. ɔ/e   *fáárɔ́* 'bush'   *fááré* 'black monkey'

     h. ɔ/o   wúlɔ́   'testicle'   wùló   'skin/lip'

     i. e/a   *krè*   'plait'   *krà*   'catch, choke, hold'

     j. i/e   *bùrì* 'break stick'   *bùrè*   'break pot, calabash'

     k. i/ɪ   *chìchà* 'step'   *chìnà* 'sit'

     l. u/ʊ   *kùnù* 'hyena'   *kɔ̀nɔ́*   'neck'

2. 2. 2. *Nasal Vowels*

Nasalization is prominent on the following vowels /ã/, /ũ/, /ɔ̃/, /ĩ/, /ɪ̃/, /ɛ̃/ indicating that the vowels[17] /o/, /e/, /ʊ/ do not undergo nasalization. One observation about some of the nasalized vowels is that they may be inherently nasal. They may or may not have to be adjacent to a nasal sound to derive their nasality. When they are adjacent to nasal sounds, the nasal sounds come either before or after the vowel. The influence is either rightwards or leftwards. From the corpus, the most frequent vowels that are nasalized are the vowels /ã/, /ũ/, /ɔ̃/. (**Table 3**) below illustrates the nasalized vowels in Dompo.

	Front		Central	Back	
	+ATR	-ATR		+ATR	-ATR
Close	ĩ	ɪ̃		ũ	
Close-mid					
Open-Mid		ɛ̃			ɔ̃
Open			ã		

Table 3. Nasalized vowels in Dompo

Below are some examples of words that have nasalized vowels.

3. | *tã́* | 'forget' | *kpã́* | 'arrow, spear' |
    | *chã̀* | 'guinea fowl' | *pã̀* | 'sun' |
    | *kpã́nú* | 'nine' | *dã̀ã̀* | 'cook' |
    | *sɔ̀nɔ́* | 'seven' | *gbɔ́ɔ́* | 'great, big, large' |
    | *mɔ̀ɔ̀* | 'kill' | *jɔ́* | 'be stupid, be rotten'|
    | *sɔ̀sɪ̀* | 'short (of a stick) | *gbĩsĩĩ* | 'to limp' |
    | *sṹ* | 'cry, weep' | *sɔ̃̀mì* | 'work' |
    | *pũ̀à* | 'abscess, swelling' | *sũ̀à* | 'send' |
    | *fĩ́á* | 'stink' | *dĩ̀ɔ̀* | 'twenty' |
    | *kɛ̃́ɛ̃́* | 'groan, grunt' | *ŋɔ̃́nsé* | 'bee' |

Nasalization is phonemic in Dompo. Example (4) below shows some minimal pairs establishing the phonemic status of some vowels in the language.

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[17] The absence of the nasalized counterparts of /o/, /e/, /ʊ/ could be a gap in the database.

4. **Oral**   **Nasal**

    jɔ́   'yam'   *jɔ̃́*   'be stupid /be rotten'

    kɛ̀ɛ̀   'take'   *kɛ̃́ɛ̃́* 'groan, grunt'

    kpà 'slap'   *kpã́* 'spear, arrow'

    dàà 'taste'   *dã̀ã̀* 'cook'

    fìà 'spin'   *fĩ́á* 'stink'

Asante (2016) notes the close link between nasality and height in Nkami, a Guang language, and other Kwa languages. He argues that there is a higher preference for high and low nasal vowels over mid nasal vowels. Dompo behaves slightly differently in the sense that though nasality is prominent on the high vowels, it is also very prominent on the mid and low vowels /ɛ̃/, /ɔ̃/, /ã/. The examples in (4) above attest to this.

2. 3. Vowel length

Long vowels are phonemic in Dompo. The vowels on the right-hand side are double, to indicate that they are longer than the vowels in the left-hand column. All vowels in Dompo except the unadvanced high vowels /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ are long. Below are some minimal pairs to illustrate this.

5. **Short**   **Long**

    dú   'plant, sow'   *dúú* 'tail'

    dí   'be sleepy, asleep' *dìì* 'climb'

    wú 'die'   *wúú* 'bone, skeleton'

    bù   'room'   *bùù* 'cover, put on'

    nú   'hear'   *núù* 'drink'

    lè   'hard'   *léé* 'want, like, desire'

    bá   'come'   *bàà* 'shoulder'

    kɔ́   'war'   *kɔ́ɔ́* 'excrement'

    gbɛ́ 'witch'   *gbɛ̀ɛ̀* 'heavy'

    bɔ́   'make'   *bɔ́ɔ́* 'cripple'

    jɔ́   'yam'   *jɔ̀ɔ̀* 'pierce'

    mà   'wall of house'   *màà* 'sew'

    bó   'river'   *bóó* 'be drunk'

     ká   'wife'   *kàà*   'wake'

Observe some PRAAT examples showing the length variations in the words *wú* 'die' *wúú* 'bone, skeleton' and *kɔ́* 'war' and *kɔ́ɔ́* 'excrement' below.

          wú   **'die'**   *wúú*   **'bone, skeleton'**
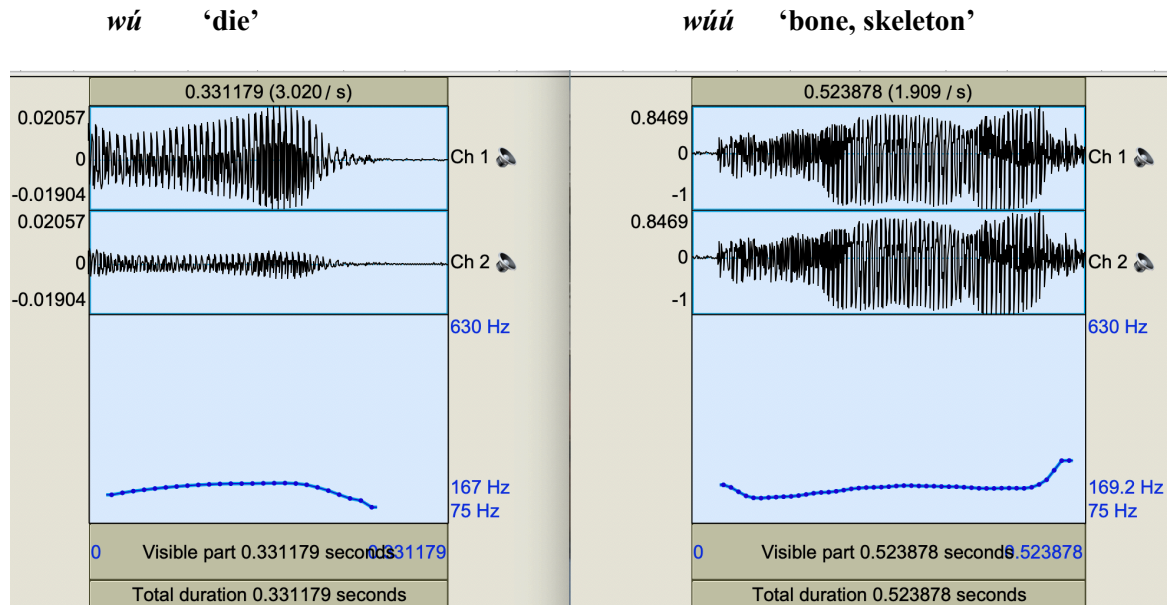
Figure 5. Variation in vowel length

          kɔ́   **'war'**   *kɔ́ɔ́*   **'excrement'**
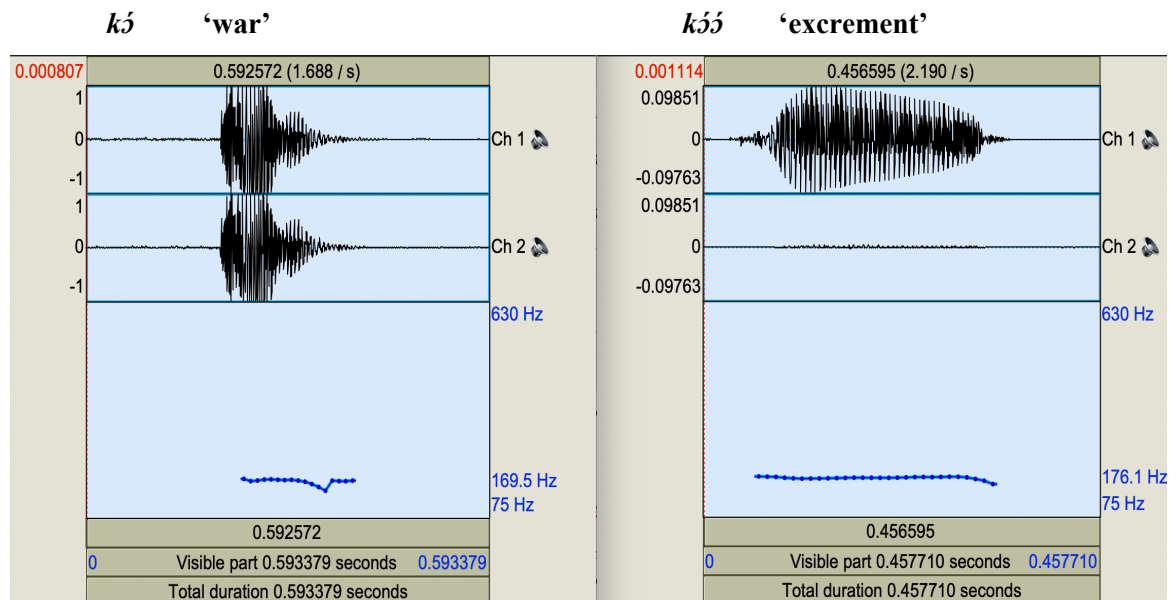
Figure 6. Variation in vowel length 2

2. 4.   *Distribution of vowels in Dompo*

Apart from the vowel /ʊ/ that has not been recorded to occur in the word final position of a word, all the vowels in Dompo occur word medially and word finally. This distribution is shown in example (6). The only vowel that has been identified to occur word initially is /a/ in the very few words in example 7 below. The few words could be remnants of a noun class prefix system which Blench (2007) indicates Dompo seems to have lost. This is further illustrated in (§2.8.1.3).

6.	**Word initial**	**Word medial**	**Word final**
i		*yìlí* 'stand'	*wìsì* 'rest'
ɪ		*mɪ́né* 'swallow'	*sɔ̃̀mɪ̀* 'work'
e		*dèhè* 'sleep'	*hàlé* 'hand'
ε		*lὲŋὲ* 'crocodile'	*kàdrὲ* 'elder'
a	*ásɔ́* 'animal'	*wásá* 'cough'	*ŋklà* 'blood'
u		*bùŋè* 'open'	*klú* 'husband'
ʊ		*kɔ̃̀nɔ́* 'neck'	-
o		*ŋkr�òfé* 'fingernail'	*pló* 'frog'
ɔ		*ŋɔ̃́nsé* 'bee'	*fɔ́* 'guest/vsitor'

7.	*ásɔ́*	'animal'	*àní*	'1st Person Plural'
	àwìsɔ́	'porcupine'	*áfúú*	'wind, air'
	àwóó	'harmattan'		

2. 4. 1.   *Vowel harmony*

Vowel harmony is a common phenomenon in languages of the region. Nevins (2010: 1) describes it "as a set of restrictions that determine the possible and impossible sequences of vowels within a word". He further illustrates that the vowels are divided into two sets and care is taken for sounds in both sets not to be mismatched with one another in a word. The classification of the two sets of vowels is mostly done per tongue root position, hence the descriptions [+ATR] and [-ATR]. The tongue is advanced in the production of [+ATR] vowels while it is retracted in the production of [-ATR] vowels. The vowels that fall within the [+ATR] domain include /i/, /e/, /u/, /o/ and those that fall within [-ATR] category are /ε/, /ɪ/, /ɔ/, /ʊ/, /a/. As observed in languages such as Akan, Dolphyne 2006; Logba, Dorvlo 2008; Tafi, Bobuafor 2013; and Nkami, Asante 2016, the low

vowel /a/, though part of the [-ATR] domain, also harmonizes with vowels in the [+ATR] category. In this case, it acts as a neutral vowel which occurs with vowels from either group.

The same process aligns with what is found in Dompo. Notice in the following examples how /a/ harmonizes with vowels from both categories. It can be observed from the examples below that the vowels that /a/ collocates with when it occurs in the [+ATR] category, are high vowels while in the [-ATR] domain, the vowels can be of varied heights.

8a.   /a/ and [+ATR] vowels

làŋè	'return'	*shíá*	'person'
wúrá	'chief/king'	*bìsà*	'ask/request'
pámpó	'hunter'	*wásá*	'cough'
pùlà	'burry'	*kàbìà*	'child'
káwí	'village'	*chápó*	'squirrel'
kàwùró	'hat'	*kàŋùàrè*	'comb'
kájá	'chair'	*hàlé*	'arm'

b.   /a/ and [-ATR] vowels

mpɔ̀nà	'dust'	*lànɔ̀*[18]	'house'
làmbrὲ	'lizard'	*káwέ*	'calabash'
kásrɔ́	'forehead'	*kámnέ*	'back'
kágbíní	'heart'	*chìnà*	'sit, dwell'
kàdὲgbὲ	'hoe'	*káyέ*	'chin'
jɔ̀ŋà	'squat'	*sàŋè*	'untie'
kàwòlé	'ground'		

2.4.1.1.   *[ATR] harmony in roots/ stems of words*

There is [ATR] harmony in the roots or stems of words in Dompo. Thus, vowels from the same domain collocate. In the above examples, we notice that the root words in Dompo have, in each syllable, vowels that correspond in terms of [ATR] harmony. In example (9a), only vowels in the [+ATR] category occur together. Similarly, in example (9b), the vowels that concur are from the [-ATR] domain.

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[18] I sometimes heard a faint /d/ between n and ɔ in the pronunciation of this word during the elicitations. This was heard from all the speakers.

9a.   [+ATR] roots/stems

búní	'corpse'	*bòbrì*	'darkness'
yìlí	'stand'	*fúflú*	'white'
fóté	'breathe'	*sèŋùnù*	'tortoise'
wèsè	'pound'	*bíbrí*	'black'
fúflú	'white'	*dèhè*	'sleep, lie down'
tìŋè	'wake up'	*yìró*	'body'
nyìsì	'eyes'	*sèpè*	'ear'
dòmbólí	'fence'	*pèsè*	'broom'

9b.   [-ATR] roots/stem

nyìnɛ̀	'male, man'	*mínɛ́*	'swallow'
sɔ̀sɪ̀	'short thing'	*kɔ́nɔ̀*	'snore'
píní	'mortar'	*nsìnɛ́*	'ashes'
pɛ́prɛ́	'red'	*sèndɛ̀*	'sheep'
sɔ̀nɔ̀	'seven'	*jɔ́hɛ̀*	'be stupid'
fɔràfɔrɔ́	'lung'	*pɔ́prɔ́*	'new'
kìnì	'watch/look'	*bwɛ̀ɛ̀rɔ́*	'roam/wander'

Vowel harmony does not seem to be a very restrictive phonological process in Dompo. In as much as there are instances of vowel harmony, there are also instances where the vowels do not seem to harmonize. Thus, vowels from either [19] group can co-occur in some words in the language. Dolphyne & Dakubu (2015: 82), however, have reported that "Gonja, Gichode and inland Awutu, which are all Guang languages, are without cross height vowel harmony". In some of the examples given below, the first syllable contains the [+ATR] vowel while the second syllable contains the [-ATR] vowel. This can be seen in example (10a) below. Notice also that most of the [+ATR] vowels found in the first syllable do not harmonize with the mid low vowels in the second syllable. Observe this in example (10a). Example (10b) shows the [-ATR] mid vowel in the initial syllable and shows its harmonic preference for the high/ high mid vowels.

10a.   *blòfɛ́*   'thirst'   *bìlɔ́*   'turn around'

---

[19] No explanation has been found for why there are mismatches in ATR. I thank one of my examiners for observing that this could be due to diachronic complexity, where the words consist of two roots. Further research on this phenomenon may provide some answers.

brùwὲ	'eight'	*nyììrɔ́*	'face'
ŋkròfɛ́	'fingernail'	*wúlɔ́*	'testicles'
jìjὲ	'to spoil'	*wúrɔ́*	'sorrow'
glìhɔ̀	'iron (metal)'	*dììnchlɔ̀*	'earthworm'

b. *ŋgɔ̀lí*   'knee'   *ŋɔ̀sré*   'money'

    ŋɔ́̃nsé 'bee'

2.4.1.2. [ATR] harmony in phrases

It seems that in some phrases, all the words are either [+ATR] or [-ATR] except the neutral vowel /a/, which has been identified to harmonize with vowels from either [ATR] groups. Thus, in example (11a and b), the vowels are all [-ATR]. /a/ in the determiner or demonstrative harmonizes with vowels in this [ATR] domain. In example (c), however, there is a mixture of vowels from either [ATR] domain. Examples (d, e and f), show [+ATR] vowels and the /a/ vowel harmonizing. It may therefore be concluded that at the phrase level, [ATR] harmony may not be a strong harmonizing phenomenon.

11a. *Ámá   sĩ̀   wá*
      NAME   short   DET
      'The short Ama'

b. *nyìnὲ   gbɔ̃́ɔ̃́   wá*
    man   big   DET
    'The big man'

c. *nyìnὲ   kó   gbáŋá*
    man   INDEF   bicycle
    'A man's bicycle'

d. *kàntètè bíbrí   sà   díá*
    dog   black   three   DEM
    'These three black dogs'

e. *mù   jùlà-kpà*
    3SG.POSS   learn-place
    'His/her school'

f. *mí   nááré*
    1SG   shoe
    'My shoe'

There are phrases, however, where there is the absence of the neutral vowel /a/ and in which we find vowels of the same ATR value. Examples (12a-c) for instance shows examples with only [+ATR] values. It was, however, difficult getting examples of solely [-ATR] values in phrases. Observe the examples below.

12a.   *sèè*   *kòólè*
            goat   one
            'One goat'

b.   *mí*   *wùlò*
            1SG   book
            'my book'

c.   *mù*   *níí*
            3SG.POSS   mother
            'His/her mother'

d.   *mù*   *kɛ̀ɛ̀-sɔ̀*
            3SG.POSS   write-thing
            'His/her pen'

e.   *kló*   *pɔ́prɔ́*   *sɔ̀nɔ̌*
            car   new   seven
            'Seven new cars'

f.   *ŋɔ̀srè* *fúflù*
            money white
            'cowries'

In examples (12d-f), we notice that [-ATR] values in the nouns, adjectives and numerals are the same. This harmony is found mostly in disyllabic words, we find the instances of [+ATR] vowels in the monosyllabic words *mù*, *kló* and the disyllabic word *fúflù*.

2.4.1.3.   *[ATR] harmony in sentences*

Similar to what happens in phrases, we can find instances of [+ATR] or [-ATR] vowels in individual morphemes that seem to have the same ATR value with surrounding morphemes. The neutral vowel /a/ still presents itself in some of the morphemes. Observe the following examples.

13a.   *é*   *léé*   *wùlò*   *klà*
            ISG   like   book   count
            'I like reading'

b.   *bì*   *nyíŋè*   *mí*
            3PL   remember   1SG
            'They remembered me'

c.   *Ámá* *è*   *bísà*   *mí*   *sèn*   *kò*
            NAME 3SG   ask   1SG   matter INDEF
            'Ama asked me something'

d.   *é*   *nyí*   *fnɛ́*   *è*   *yúrì*   *ŋɔ̀sré* *wá*
            1SG   know   COMPL 3SG   steal   money DET
            'I know that he stole the money'

e.   *jí-sɔ́*   *wá*   *wɔ̀*   *blɛ̀*   *lɛ̀lɛ̀*
   eat-thing   DET   is   tasty   INT
   'The food is very tasty'

g.   *chéé*   *wá*   *wɔ̀*   *jrɛ̀-sɔ́*   *wá*   *rɔ́*
   sponge   DET   be at   bath-thing   DET   in
   'The sponge is in the bucket'

Examples (13a-c) shows the same [+ATR] vowels with the presence of /a/ in very few words. The other examples illustrate instances where there is a combination of both [+ATR] and [-ATR] values in words. This can be seen in examples (d-g).

2. 5.   *Dompo consonant system*

The consonant system of Dompo comprises 27 consonants at 8 places of articulation. There are no voiced fricatives /v/ and /z/ in Dompo. Some authors have noted the absence of the voiced consonants /v/ and /z/ and describe their absence as a common phenomenon in some Guang languages (Peacock 2007; Dolphyne & Dakubu 2015; Painter 1970). Since Dompo is considered to be related to, or influenced by, Guang languages, it is relevant that it also lacks these phonemes. The consonant sounds in Dompo consist of the simple oral sounds /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, /g/, /f/, /s/, /ʃ/, /h/, /r/, /j/, /w/, /l/, the simple nasal sounds /m/, /n/, /ɲ/, /ŋ/, the double articulated sounds /ŋm/, /kp/, /gb/, /tʃ/, /dʒ/ and the labialized sounds /pʷ/, /bʷ/, /kʷ/, /fʷ/. Many sounds used in this thesis are based on the IPA symbols. There are, however, some sounds that are represented by different orthographical symbols. Thus, the sounds /ʃ/**,** /tʃ/**,** /dʒ/**,** /ɲ/**,** /j/ on the IPA correspond to the orthographical symbols <sh>, <ch>, <j>, <ny>, <y> respectively. The table below shows an inventory of the consonants by place and manner of articulation.

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Palatal	Velar	Labial-velar	Glottal
Stop/ Plosive	p　　b		t　　d			k　　g	kp　gb	
Labialised stop	pʷ　bʷ					kʷ		
Fricative		f	s	∫				h
Labialised fricative		fʷ						
Affricate				t∫　dʒ				
Nasal	m		n	ɲ	ŋ	ŋm		
Trill			r					
Approximant					j		w	
Lateral Approximant			l					

Table 4. An inventory of consonants

2. 5. 1.　　　　*Distribution of consonants in Dompo*

All consonants in Dompo occur word initially. With the exception of the sounds /ŋm/ and /kʷ/ that do not occur word medially, all other consonants do. When the consonants occur word medially, they mostly occur at the beginning of the second syllable of a word. Only the nasal sounds /n, ŋ/ occur word finally.

Consonants	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
p	*pìà* catch'	*kápnî̄* 'mosquito'	-
b	*bèè* 'mountain'	*bíbrí* 'black'	-
t	*tã̂* 'forget'	*kàtòpò* 'ladle'	-
d	*dɔ́ɔ́* 'weed'	*kàdrɛ̀* 'elder'	-
k	*kàbìà* 'child'	*kàkɛ̀* 'day'	-
g	*gàgɔ̀* 'hunchback'	*dàŋgrà* 'groundnut'	-
f	*fɔ́té* 'breath'	*fòflé* 'lie'	-
s	*sɔ̃̀mì* 'work'	*ŋɔ̀sré* 'money'	-
∫	*shìέ* 'crunch'	*bàshìà* 'people'	-
h	*hlé* 'run'	*kpàhè* 'peel'	-
r	*rɔ́* 'in'	*púrí* 'bag'	-
j	*yùyrí pò* 'thief'	*bèènjɔ̀* 'sing'	-

w	*wúrá* 'chief'	*kàwòlé* 'ground/floor'	-
l	*lèpé* 'plate'	*kàblè* 'horn (musical instrument)	-
m	*míné* 'swallow'	*dòmbólí* 'fence'	-
n	*nànsè* 'spider'	*kánú* 'mouth'	*bán* '2nd/3rd Person Plural'
ɲ	*nyí* 'know'	*kànyrànyìsì* 'cat'	-
ŋ	*ŋklà* 'blood'	*tìŋè* 'be awake/alert'	*dǎŋ* 'grow old'
ŋm	*ŋmèè* 'kick'	-	-
kp	*kpàhè* 'peel'	*fɛ̀ɛ̀kpà* 'market'	-
gb	*gbó* 'anger'	*kágbʊ́nɔ́* 'chest'	-
tʃ	*chìnà* 'sit'	*chìchà* 'step'	-
dʒ	*jì* 'eat'	*kájá* 'chair'	-
pʷ	*pwè* 'insult'	*kápwé* 'pot'	-
bʷ	*bwèèrɔ́* 'wander'	*kàbwê* 'bird'	-
kʷ	*kwìì* 'cut'	-	-
fʷ	*fwè* 'fat'	*jɔ́fwɛ́* 'shell'	-

Table 5. Distribution of consonants

From the distribution of consonants in the table above, the only word in which /r/ has been recorded to occur word initially is the postpositional word *rɔ́* 'in'. *rɔ́* also serves as a suffix in the word *ndɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ́* 'in farm'. The labio-velar sound /ŋm/ and the labialized stop /kʷ/ have not been recorded to occur in the medial position of any word in the language. The labialized sounds /pʷ/, /bʷ/, /kʷ/ /fʷ/ and the alveo-palatal fricative /ʃ/ occur before non-round vowels. The non-labialized primary counterparts /p/, /b/, /k/, /f/ may or may not occur before non-round vowels.

Below are some minimal pairs/ near minimal pairs in Dompo, that prove the phonemic status of the consonants.

	SOUND	**MINIMAL/ NEAR MINIMAL PAIRS**			
a.	p/b	*pàà*	'raise/lift'	*bàà*	'shoulder'
		pɔ́ɔ́	'stick'	*bɔ́ɔ́*	'cripple'
b.	t/d	*téέ*	'jump'	*dèè*	'fire'
		kàtrè	'egg plant'	*kàdrè*	'elder'

c.	k/g	*kùnù*	'hyena'	*gúnú*	'kneel'
		ŋ**k**là	'blood'	ŋ**g**là	'crab'
d.	f/s	*fɔ́*	'guest/visitor'	*sɔ́*	'animal/thing'
e.	h/p	*h*lé	'run'	*p*lé	'play'
f.	l/b	*lá*	'swim'	*bá*	'come'
g.	j/d	*jí*	'eat'	*dí*	'be sleepy'
h.	r/l	kù*r*è	'bear'	kù*l*è	'beg'
i.	m/n	*m*àà	'sew'	*n*àà	'cow'
		*n*ú	'hear'	*m*ù	'3SG'
j.	n/w	*n*ú	'hear'	*w*ú	'die'
k.	y/k	*y*ɔ́	'go'	*k*ɔ́	'war'
l.	ɲ/m	*ny*í	'know'	*m*í	'1SG'
m.	ŋm/n	*ŋm*ɛ̀ɛ̀	'kick'	*n*ɛ̀ɛ́	'millet'
n.	kp/gb	*kp*ɛ̀ɛ̀	'clear land'	*gb*ɛ̀ɛ̀	'heavy'
o.	tʃ/ dʒ	kà*ch*à	'cloth'	ká*j*á	'chair'
p.	pʷ/ bʷ	*pw*è	'insult'	*bw*ì	'stone'
		ká*pw*ɛ́	'pot'	kà*bw*ê	'bird'
q.	bʷ/ fʷ	*bw*ɛ̀ɛ̀	'roam/wander'	*fw*è	'fat'
r.	kʷ/ pʷ	*kw*è	'vomit'	*pw*è	'insult'
s.	bʷ/kʷ	*bw*ì	'stone'	*kw*ìì	'cut'

2. 6. *Tonal system of Dompo*

Tone is a distinguishing unit in Dompo. Most of the tones in Dompo are basic level tones making the language a register tone language. Tone in Dompo is realized on all vowels and marked on each syllable in the language. I analyze the language as having two basic register tones — high and low-level tones. Contour tones, rising and falling tones have also been identified in the language. While Blench (2007: 2) asserts that the tone system of Dompo seems to be restricted to only two tones with no instances of glides recorded, Painter (1967) identified the mid tone on some words. Out of 100 words on which he marked tones, the mid tone occurred on about 11 of the words. The mid-tones mostly occurred at the end of these words. This present study has not established the presence of the mid tone on words. The table below shows the words on the left side where Painter marked mid tones on the syllable. The column next to it indicates the tones this research identifies on the vowels in the syllables. It is evident that where Painter realized a mid-tone, this research identifies mostly a low tone.

Word from Painter (1967)	Word from current research	Meaning
kabwəi (l-hm)	*kàbwê*	bird
ŋkəla (l-m-l)	*ŋklà*	blood
kosifyle (l-l-h-m)	*kòsìflê*	egg
dandylo (l-h-m)	*dàndúlò*	tongue
kagbono (m-m-m) (heart)	*kágbónɔ́* (chest)	-
bwɪ (hm)	*bwì*	stone
bʷa:reba (l-l-hm)	*bwàrèbá*	rain (Lit. rain is coming)
kpa (hm)	*kpà*	path
ɛwɔdeɛ (h-h-ml) (hot)	*èwɔ̀dèè*	hot (Lit. it is hot)
ewulo (l-h-hm) (dry)	*èwúlò*	dry (Lit. it is dry)
cije (h-ml)	*chèè*	woman

Table 6. Distinction between Painter's mid tone and its other realizations in the current study

I provide a transcription of tone on all words in this thesis. This tone transcription is based on observation and discussion with the six remaining speakers. Further investigation, including acoustic analysis, is required.

2. 6. 1. *Basic tones in Dompo*

The basic contrastive level tones in Dompo are represented by the tonal markers (´) for high tone and (`) for low tone. Generally, there are more syllables with low tone in Dompo than high tones. The rising and falling contour tones, which are not common in the tonal system of the language are represented by (ˇ) and (ˆ) respectively. Example (14) below illustrates how the two basic tones differentiate between the 1st and 3rd person singular pronouns. Other examples are elaborated on in (§2.6.3.1).

14. *é*   'I'

    è   'He/she/it'

Tones on monosyllabic words can either be high (H) or low (L). The following verb roots in examples (15) and (16) show high tones and low tones respectively. These examples show that high and low tones can occur on syllables with all consonants and vowels.

15. *hlé*   'run'   *jí*   'eat'

    klá   'greet'   *nú*   'hear'

    wú   'die'   *bá*   'come'

    yɔ́   'go'   *bɔ́*   'make / do'

    fɛ́   'sell'   *prɔ́*   'mould'

    lá   'swim'   *fró*   'wash'

    tɔ̀   'buy'   *krɔ́*   'grind'

16. *wù*   'see'   *kpà*   'slap'

    yɛ́   'say   *ŋnà*   'show'

    sṳ̀   'cry/weep'   *lò*   'weave'

    wè   'chew'   *kwè*   'vomit'

    krà   'hold'   *tɛ̃́*   'forget'

Long vowels in verb roots is very prominent in the language. The tones on these vowels are the same, either high or low tones. Example (17) below illustrates this occurrence in the language.

17. *téέ*   'jump'   *mɔ́ɔ́*   'kill'

     díí   'climb'   *bùù*   'cover'

     cháá   'dance'   *dɔ́ɔ́*   'dig/weed'

     máá   'sew'   *fèè*   'sweep'

     chɔ̀ɔ̀   'burn'   *léé*   'want'

     kàà   'wake / rise up'   *ŋmὲὲ*   'kick'

     kɔ́ɔ́   'defecate'   *kɛ̀ɛ̀*   'write'

2. 6. 2.   *Tone combination*

There are a few verb roots that exhibit the falling contour tone. If marked on a long vowel, the falling contour is represented as /*úù*/. It is represented as /*î*/ if the vowel is not a long one. This is illustrated in the words below.

18. *jɔ́ɔ̀*   'pierce'   *núù*   'drink'

     bì jî   'they eat'

There are also sequences of contour tones L L, or L H on disyllabic words. Observe them in the following examples.

19. *fíà*   'spin'   *lìà*   'pick / choose'

     shìé   'crunch'   *mǔ̀é*   'be sated'

     lùà   'arrive'   *kùè*   'vomit'

     fǔ̀é   'fart'   *pìà*   'catch'

There are also the common tonal patterns L L, shown in example (20), L H, illustrated in example (21) and H H, exemplified in (22). These tonal patterns occur on disyllabic roots of words.

20. *bìsà*   'ask/request'   *kpàhè*   'peel'

     làŋè   'return'   *chìnà*   'sit'

     fóté   'breathe'   *wàsà*   'cough'

     gbèsè   'belch'   *ŋʼ̀sìì*   'sneeze'

     dèhè   'sleep'   *kìnì*   'look'

21.	*yìlí*	'stand'		*bìlɔ́*	'turn around'
	nààré	'walk'		*lὲpέ*	'plate/ bowl'
	ŋùsé	'think'			

22.	*púrí*	'bag'		*káwí*	'town'
	káfέ	'axe'		*nyíní*	'push'
	húlá	'carry'		*kákέ*	'basket'
	píní	'mortar'			

2. 6. 3.　　　　*Functions of tone*

Generally, tone plays two distinct roles in languages. Tones are used to mark lexical and grammatical distinctions. Tones play lexical roles when they differentiate between the meanings of two or more words. This function of tones is exhibited in many languages across the world. Dolphyne (2006: 66) illustrates how tone brings about differences in the meanings of the words illustrated below in the Asante dialect of Akan.

23.	*dá*	'day'		*ɔ̀bɔ̀fó*	'hunter'
	dà	'never'		*ɔ̀bɔ́fó*	'creator'
				ɔ̀bɔ́!fó	'messenger'

Tones perform grammatical functions when they mark differences in grammatical categories such as tense, aspect and mode. Dolphyne (1986: 35) presents this example where tones differentiate between the habitual and stative forms of the verb in Akan.

24.	*ɔ̀hyέ*[20] (Asante) 'he wears'		*ɔ̀hyὲ* 'he has on e.g. a shirt'

In the Nkami language also, tone distinguishes between the grammatical domains of perfect versus progressive aspects of the verb, habitual versus future negatives, 3PL habitual versus 3PL progressive, past versus continuative negatives and 2SG continuative / past versus 2SG habitual (Asante 2016: 35).

2.6.3.1.　　　　*Lexical functions of tone in Dompo*

Dompo has words that differ only by the feature of tone. Essentially, these tonal differences bring about a change in meaning of the words. Below are some minimal pairs in the language that establish tonal differences. The words can be of different word classes.

---

[20] In Akan, the IPA symbole / ʃ / is represented by the orthography <hy>.

25. | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *chèè* | 'girl/woman' | *tòó* | 'guinea corn' |
| *chéé* | 'sponge' | *tòò* | 'to shoot' |
| | | | |
| *gbò* | 'to coagulate, to clot' | *wísì* | 'rest' |
| *gbó* | 'buffalo' | *wìsì* | 'wet' |
| | | | |
| *klá* | 'count' | *kákɛ́* | 'basket' |
| *klà* | 'greet' | *kàkɛ̀* | 'day' |
| | | | |
| *lɔ̀* | 'wound, sore' | *ndɔ́ɔ́rɔ́* | 'in palm' |
| *lɔ́* | 'illness, disease' | *ndɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ́* | 'in farm' |

Below, Praat diagrams demonstrate the acoustic differences of some minimal pairs. These Praat images show the pitch traces. Pitch differences that create the tone distinction can be seen. In (**Figure 7**), there are three repetitions of the words *tòó* 'guinea corn' and *tòò* 'to shoot'. *Tòó* has a rising pitch while *tòò* is said with low tones. (**Figure 8**) illustrates the pairs *lá* 'to beat drum' and *là* 'to swim', which are repeated twice. *Lá* shows a high pitch while *là* shows a low pitch. The last pair in (**Figure 9**) shows the tones for *kákɛ́* 'basket' and *kàkɛ̀* 'day'. The former indicates high pitches on the two syllables while the latter shows low pitches on the syllables.

tòó **'guinea corn'**   *tòò* **'to shoot'**
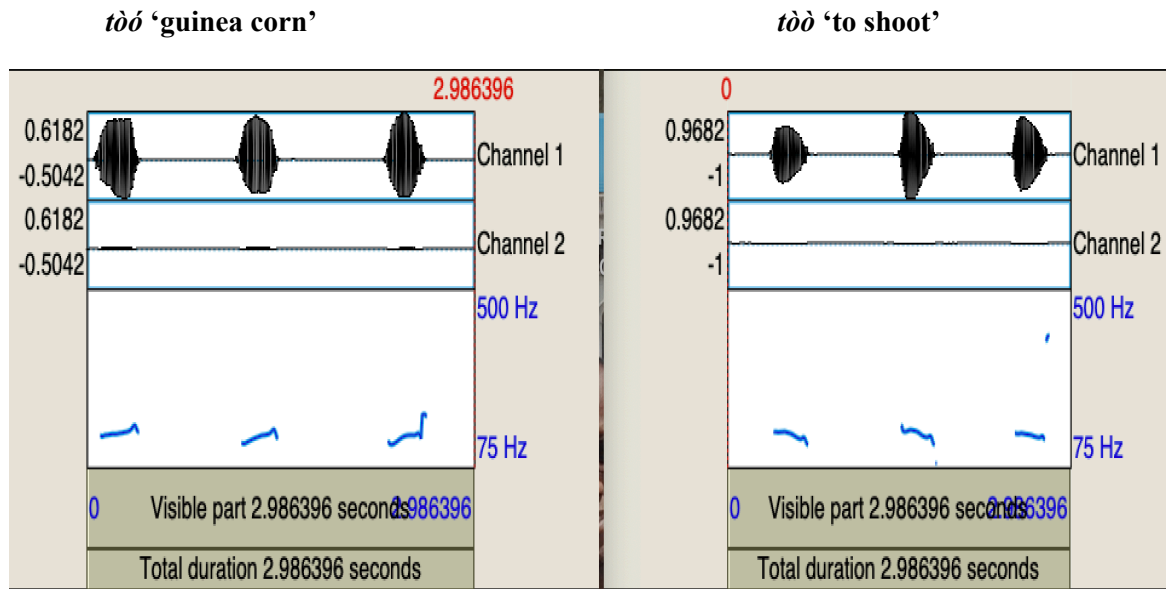
Figure 7. Comparison of tones for 'guinea corn' and 'to shoot'

lá 'to beat drum'   **là 'to swim'**
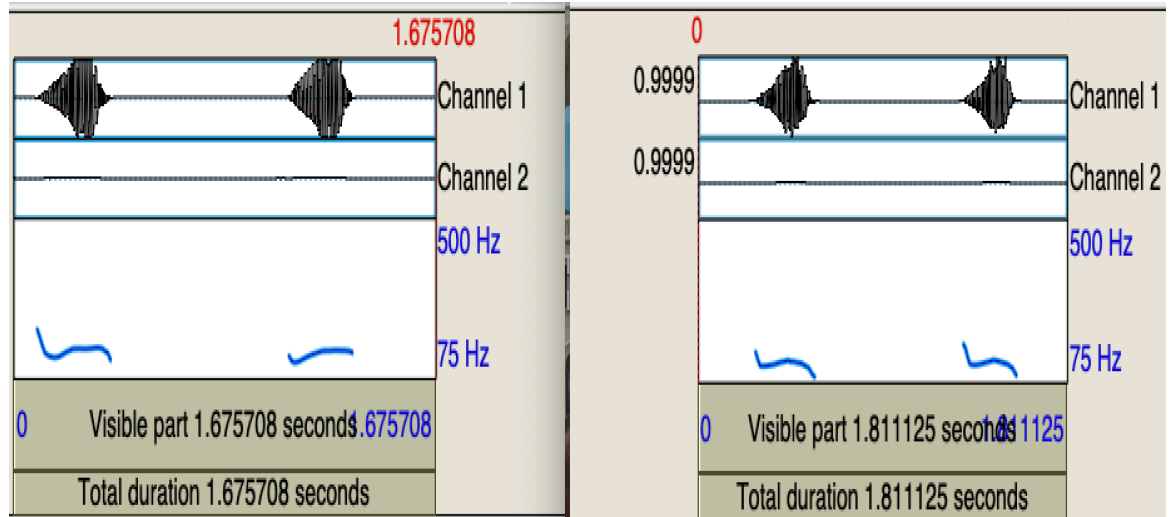
Figure 8. Comparison of tones for 'to beat drum' and 'to swim'

káké 'basket'   **kàkè 'day'**
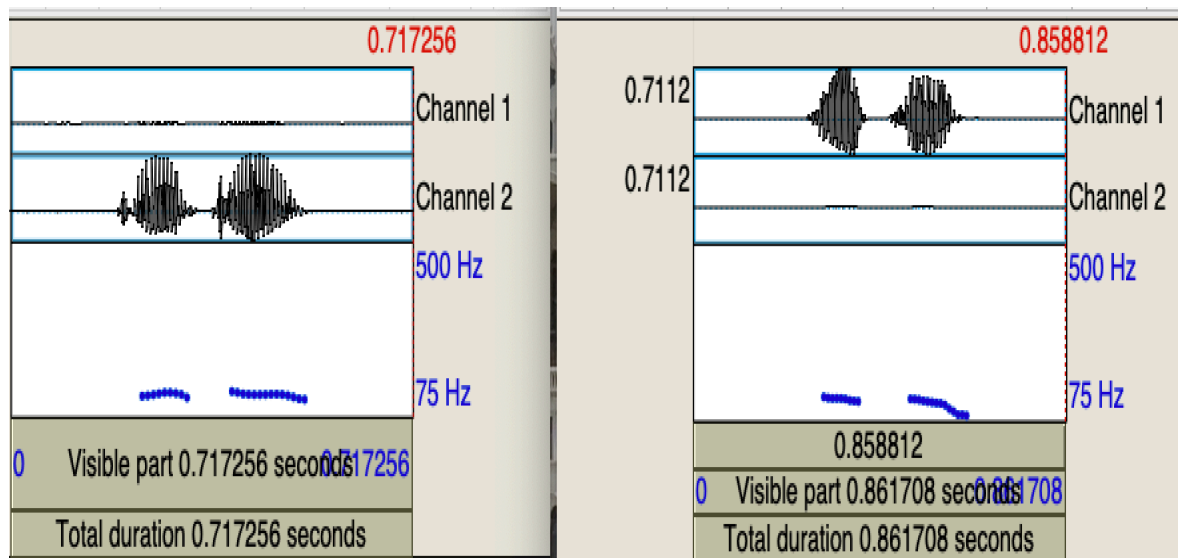
Figure 9. Comparison of tones for 'basket' and 'day'

2.6.3.2.   *Grammatical functions of tone in Dompo*

Tone in Dompo has a grammatical function in the context of distinguishing between the past/perfect tense and habitual/present continuous tense of verbs. Thus, a change in tone on the verb may change its tense from a past/perfect to a habitual/present continuous one and vice-versa. This is not consistently done with all verbs. It was also observed that differences in tone are sometimes not saliently recognized by the speakers. They would state that the tones sounded the same to them. It may be strongly argued here that the limited number of speakers of the language may account for the inconsistencies in the speakers recognizing the tonal variations. Also, given

the fact that these speakers have very limited opportunities of using the language actively, it is evident, therefore, that they may vary in their judgements on this subject matter.

In the examples below, notice that the verbs change their tones depending on the tense. Thus, in their present continuous or habitual forms, the verbs *jí* 'eat', *kpáréé* 'wipe' and *yílí* 'stand' are all said with high tones on every vowel in the syllable. In the past tense or the perfective, however, the tones change to low tones.

26. a. *é* *jí*   *jí-sɔ́*
     1SG eat   eat-thing
     'I eat food/ I am eating food'

  b. *é* *jì*   *jí-sɔ́*
     1SG eat   eat-thing
     'I ate food/ I have eaten food'

  c. *é* *kpáréé* *mú*
     1SG wipe 3SG
     'I wipe it/ I am wiping it'

  d. *é* *kpàrèè* *mú*
     1SG wipe 3SG
     'I cleaned it/ I have cleaned it'

  e. *Ámá* *yílí* *nɔ̀*
     NAME stand there
     'Ama stands there/ Ama is standing there'

  f. *Ámá* *yìlí* *nɔ̀*
     NAME stand there
     'Ama stood there'

(**Figure 10**) below shows a Praat diagram indicating the tonal changes on the sentences given in examples (26b and a) respectively. Notice that for the past or perfective tense of the verb, the pitch levels are much lower than the present or habitual tense, where the pitch is higher.

é jì jísɔ́ **'I ate food'**   *é jí jísɔ́* **'I eat food'**
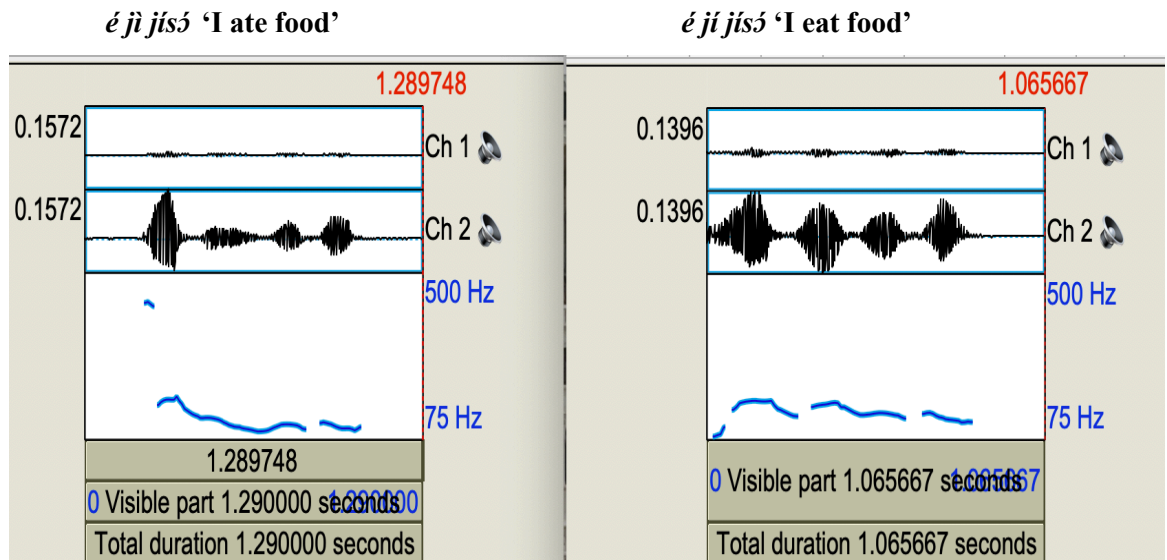
Figure 10. Tonal changes on verbs in sentences.

2. 7.   *Tonal Variations*

There are tonal variations that occur when words co-occur. While some of these changes are due to the influences from adjacent tones, other tonal changes are difficult to predict. Of particular interest are the tonal changes that occur for some compound words. These tonal changes have been attested only in the examples below and no concrete explanation has been given for the cause of change. This thus makes it difficult to determine the kind of assimilation that is occurring in the examples. In the examples in (27) below, descriptive adjectives follow nouns. A descriptive nominal is produced after the two words occur together. The H H tones on the adjectives change to be realized as L H when it combines with the noun. Some other tonal changes are discussed in (§3.7.1and §3.8). Some regular tonal changes are further discussed with examples in (§3.8.3)

27.   *shíá*   'person'   +   *pépré*   'red'   →   *shìà pèpré*   'white person'

     ŋɔ̀sré   'money'   +   *fúflú*   'white' →   *ŋɔ̀sré fùflú*   'cowrie'

     ŋɔ̀sré   'money'   +   *pépré*   'red'   →   *ŋɔ̀sré pèpré*   'gold'

2. 8.   *The syllable*

The syllable in Dompo is a unit of speech made up of the onset and the rhyme. The rhyme is further divided into the nucleus and the coda. The onset and the coda are optional elements of the syllable, while the nucleus is the most obligatory part. The nucleus is also known as the peak because it is the most sonorous element of the syllable. It is occupied by a vowel or a syllabic nasal. It is also the portion that carries the tone. The onset and coda are occupied by consonants.

2. 8. 1.   *The syllable in Dompo*

The basic syllable types in Dompo are CV, CCV, V and CVC. There is a strong preference for open syllables in the language. The C represents the consonants while the V represents the vowel which is also the nucleus of the syllable. The following sections discuss these syllable types.

2.8.1.1.   *The CV syllable type*

This syllable type is the most basic in the language. It is made up of the onset and nucleus. It can occur independently as a monosyllabic word or it can be found in any position, i.e. initial, medial or final position, in a polysyllabic word. It occurs in both lexical and grammatical categories of words such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, pronouns and determiners. The following examples show some words with this syllable structure.

28. *yɔ́*   'go'   *lá*   'swim'

     yí   'tree'   *kà.wù.ró*   'hat/ cap'

     wá   'determiner'   *kà.wò.lé*   'earth/ soil'

     mí   '1SG OBJ'   *kà.ŋò.nɔ̀*   'nose'

     sè.pè   'ear'   *kù.nù.mù*   'donkey'

     pú.rí   'bag'   *sè.ŋù.nù*   'tortoise'

2.8.1.2.   *The CCV syllable structure*

This syllable type is made up of two consonants that form a consonant cluster in the onset position, followed by a vowel. The cluster can occur word initially, medially or finally. There is no record of its occurrence in the middle of a word with three or more syllables. Plosives mostly occupy the first slot of the CCV cluster. Fricatives are the next category of sounds that may also occur as the first consonant. The second slot in the cluster is usually occupied by liquids, specifically /l and r/. Observe this syllable structure in the examples below.

29. *trɔ́*   'fall'   *hlé*   'run'

     trè   'call'   *flɛ́*   'moon'

     prɛ́   'monkey'   *gbrè*   'pull'

     brì   'beat'   *gbró*   'god'

     drú   'medicine'   *ká.srɔ́*   'forehead'

     klú   'husband'   *ká.plɔ́*   'cooking pot for soup'

     krí   'ten'   *jàm.plò*   'thigh'

sré	'waist'		*kám.brɔ́*	'stomach'
sló	'elephant'		*dàŋ.grà*	'groundnut'
ká.jɔ́.fwɛ́	'bark of tree'			

There are also instances of CCV syllable structures where the second consonant in the cluster is the labio-velar glide /w/. It is prudent to suggest that when a high back non-rounded vowel follows a consonant, the labio-velar glide is realized. This can be realized in example (30) below where the words in square brackets are phonetic forms while those in the slashes are phonemic forms.

30.
[*bʷì*]	/bui/	'stone'	[*ká.pʷɛ́*]	/ka.puɛ/	'water pot'
[*bʷɛ́*]	/buɛ/	'roam'	[*kà.bʷê*]	/ka.bue/	'bird'
[*fʷɛ̀*]	/fuɛ/	'fat'	[*jɔ́.fʷɛ́*]	/jɔ.fuɛ/	'shell'

Similarly, there are also instances where the input of a syllable structure is a CCV structure. Thus, when a high front vowel follows a consonant, the vowel may be realized as the palatal approximant /y/. Notice this in the examples below where the words in the slanted brackets represent the input.

31.
pìà	/pya/	'catch'	*fìà*	/fya/	'spin'
lìà	/lya/	'pick/choose'	*shìɛ̀*	/shyɛ/	'crunch'

2.8.1.3.   The V syllable type

This syllable type is made up of just a nucleus which is a vowel. The V could be an independent syllable as we find with some pronouns, or it could be at the initial position of some words. Dompo has very few words with the V syllable structure at the initial position. V could also be the final vowel in a CVV syllable structure. Below is a discussion of the various positions that V occurs in.

a.   V occurring as an independent subject pronoun

The subject pronouns exemplified in example (32) below occur as independent syllables.

32.
/é/	1SG	é dèhè	'I sleep'
/ó/	2SG	ó dèhè	'you sleep'
/è/	3SG	è déhè	'he/she/it sleeps'
/á/	1PL	á dèhè	'we sleep'

b.   ***V occurring at the initial position of words***

The vowel could also occur in the initial position of certain words in Dompo. Painter (1967: 47) attached the 3SG pronoun *è* to certain words which might make it seem that the pronoun is part of the morphology of the word. However, he recorded the word *ù.wú* 'bone' in which the initial vowel might have been inherently part of the morphology of the word. This research on the other hand has established the word for bone as *wúú* and without the initial vowel. As indicated in (§3. 4.) Dompo seems to have lost some of its prefix class markers. The class prefixes that remain suggest remnants of a once active noun class system. Below are all the examples recorded in the corpus of the V prefix. These are all nouns and form a natural object class.

33.   *á.sɔ́*   'animal'

        à.wìsɔ́   'porcupine'

        à.wóó   'harmattan'

        á.fúú   'wind, air'

        à.ní   '1st Person Plural'

c.   ***V occurring as the final vowel in a CVV syllable structure.***

In a CV.V syllable structure, where there are two syllables, the second syllable is a vowel only syllable. Observe the following examples.

34. *sʉ̀.à*	'send (someone)'		*fʉ̃́.ɛ́*	'flatulate'
shí.á	'person or human being'		*mʉ̀.ɛ́*	'be sated'
pʉ̃̀.à	'swelling, abscess'		*lù.à*	'arrive'

2.8.1.4 *A syllabic nasal (N) consonant occurring as the nucleus of the syllable*

A nasal consonant may occur as the syllabic consonant of a syllable. It occupies the initial position in a word and serves as the nucleus of this initial syllable. A consonant follows this syllabic consonant.

The syllabic nasal consonants /m, n, ŋ/ are homorganic in place with the subsequent consonant. It may be deduced that /n/ is the underlying form. It thus changes its form to assimilate to the place of articulation of the following consonant where need be. These nasal consonants may also serve as nominal plural markers for non-countable nouns as illustrated in example (35). They have the same phonemic variation in both instances. The *ka-* prefix in the left column is the singular form of the noun while the plural form is marked by the syllabic nasal in the right column, as shown in example (30).

35.   ***m****.blé*   'long (of a stick)'

        n²¹.*sǜ*   'water'

        n*.sìnέ*   'ashes'

        n*.dὲὲ̀*   'firewood'

        ŋ*.kǜ*   'oil'

        ŋ*.klà*   'blood'

        ŋ*.kpà*   'life'

        ŋ*.kròfέ*   'fingernail'

        ŋ*.kwàtá*   'leprosy'

36.

Singular		**Plural**	
kà.bìà	'child'	***m****.bìà*	'children'
kà.bɛ́́ɛ́́	'fish.sg'	***m****.bὲ̀ὲ̀*	'fish.pl'
kà.trè	'eggplant'	***n****.trè*	'eggplants'
kà.chà	'clothing.sg'	***n****.chà*	'clothes'

2.8.1.5 The CVC syllable structure

This syllable type has a consonant occurring at the beginning of a syllable, followed by a vowel, which occupies the peak and then another consonant which occupies the coda position. The nasal consonants /n/, /m/ and /ŋ/ mostly occupy the coda position and are homorganic in place with the subsequent consonant. This syllable type usually precedes another syllable. This is an instance of phonemic variation in the environment of the subsequent syllable. Observe the examples below.

37.   *sέ****n****.trέ*   'clitoris'

        *sὲ****n****.dὲ*   'sheep'

        *bù****n****.flɔ́*   'urine'

        *dὲ****n****.sà*   'lick'

        *ká****m****.brɔ́*   'stomach (internal)

        *pá****m****.pó*   'hunter'

        *jà****m****.plò*   'thigh'

---

²¹ In the remaining chapters of the thesis, words with nasal syllables whose meanings are objects in a liquid state will be written without the dot (.) as in ***n***.*sǜ* 'water'. Words like *m*.*bìà* 'children' that have their plural forms in a countable state will be distinguished.

sàŋ.gè	'untie'	
kɔ́ŋ.kɔ́	'bat'	
gɔ̂ŋ.gɔ̀.rɔ́	'chameleon'	

2.9 Syllable Structural Processes

Syllable structural processes are instances of phonological processes that affect the structure of the syllable. These processes occur largely in speech when syllables are strung together. Thus, the syllable may be restructured when a segment or segments are either deleted or inserted. Some sounds may also change their quality to suit the subsequent sounds. The phonological processes that have been identified in Dompo include deletion, insertion, vowel elision and assimilation. Below is a discussion of these processes in Dompo.

2.9.1 Deletion of consonants and vowels

In connected speech, some segments of the syllable may be deleted in Dompo. These segments may, however, be retained when the speakers are speaking slowly or emphatically. Vowels and consonants can be deleted. Vowel sounds that are mostly deleted are /u/ and /ɪ/. /u/ is deleted in speech when in a disyllabic word, where it occurs as the second sound of the first syllable. When the following syllable, which usually begins with /r/, is attached to the initial syllable, the /u/ is deleted, producing a complex consonant cluster which deviates from the basic syllable structure of the language. An example of such a complex cluster is in the word *nsnɛ́* 'ashes' in example (38) below. We can also observe that the tones on the second syllable are maintained on the final pronunciation of word. Consider this in the following examples.

38.
bù	*rɔ́*	→	*brɔ́*	'room'
kù	*rè*	→	*krè*	'give birth'
wù	*rà*	→	*wrà*	'wear'

The vowel /ɪ/ similarly undergoes deletion when it occurs as the second sound in the first syllable of a disyllabic word. It gets deleted in speech when the first sound of the second syllable, usually an /n/, is attached to it. The deletion of /ɪ/ creates a consonant cluster at the beginning of the syllable. The cluster is, however, in the middle of the syllable in the last example, where we also see the deletion of /ɪ/ in the second syllable instead of the first in all other examples. The examples below illustrate this.

39.
kì	*nì*	→	*knì*	'look/watch'
mí	*nɛ́*	→	*mnɛ́*	'swallow'
nsí	*nɛ́*	→	*nsnɛ́*	'ashes'

pí	*ní*	→	*pní*	'mortar/ pounding pot'
kápí	*nɩ̌*	→	*kápnɩ̌*	'mosquito'

In instances where this research records the deletion of a vowel in a word, Painter (1967) and Blench (2007) recorded the presence of these vowels. Observe this in the table below.

Previous research	Current research	Meaning
kasirɔ (Blench)	*kásrɔ́*	forehead
jampulu (Blench)	*jàmplò*	thigh
kamɛnɛ (Blench)	*kámnè*	back
kulu (Blench)	*klú*	husband
sulo (Blench)	*sló*	elephant
ŋkurofɛsɔ (Blench)	*ŋkròfɛ́sɔ́*	leopard
kapini (Blench)	*kápnɩ̌*	mosquito
nsinɛ (Blench)	*nsné*	ashes
tiri (Blench)	*trè*	call
hile (Blench)	*hlé*	run
bibiri (Painter, Blench)	*bíbrí*	black
fufulu (Painter, Blench	*fúflú*	white
pɛpɛrɛ (Painter, Blench)	*péprɛ́*	red
pɔpɔrɔ (Painter)	*pɔ́prɔ́*	new

 Table 7. Comparison of vowel deletion or retention in some Dompo words

Apart from the deletion of the segments illustrated above, there are other deletions of consonant segments that may occur in speech. For instance, the segment /n/ is deleted when it begins the next word and when it occurs after a vowel in the following examples in (40a). In (b), the /n/ of the subsequent word is deleted in pronunciation because of the presence of /n/ in the negative marker. These deletions are done consistently and by all the speakers, perhaps for ease of articulation. The phonological process of deletion applies to the deletion of /n/ in the following examples.

40a.
nyìsì	'eye'	*nsǔ*	'water' →	*nyìsì sǔ*		'tears'
mí	'1SG'	*ntró*	'father' →	*mí tró*		'my father'

b.　　*kó*　　*mân*　　**n***féé*　　→　　*kó*　　*mân*　　*féé*
　　　　INDEF　NEG　　here　　　　　　INDEF　NEG　　here
　　　　'There is nothing here'　　　　　　'There is nothing here'

Another consonant sound that is deleted is the segment /y/ in the word *yi* 'let/make' in sentence initial position. When *yí* starts a sentence, the /y/ is deleted as can be seen in (41a). On the other hand, when *yí*[22] is found in any other position, the full form of the word is maintained as illustrated in (b). Consider this in the sentences below.

41a.　　*í*　　*nè*　　*mù*　　*yɔ́*
　　　　let　　CONJ　3SG　　go
　　　　'Let him go'

b.　　　*Kòfí*　　*yí*　　*nè*　　*kàbìà*　　*wâ*　　*trɔ́*
　　　　NAME　　let　　CONJ　child　　DET　　fall
　　　　'Kofi made the child fall'

Another example of deletion of the onset of a syllable is /m/, the first sound of the future or habitual negative marker *'mán'*. In example (42a), we see the full form of this marker *mán* in use. The initial /m/ is, however, deleted in examples (b and c). The sentences in (a and b) have the same meaning.

42a.　　*bí*　　*má-n*　　　*yɔ́*
　　　　3PL　　NEG.FUT　　go
　　　　'They will not go'

b.　　　*bì*　　*à-n*　　　*yɔ́*
　　　　3PL　　NEG.FUT　　go
　　　　'They will not go'

c.　　　*bì*　　*à-n*　　　*déhè*
　　　　3PL　　NEG.FUT　　sleep
　　　　'They will not sleep'

It should be noted that '*bi*' 3PL is the only pronoun that can cause the initial /m/ of the following negative marker to be deleted. *Má* has to be used in its full form after all other pronouns for the sentence to be grammatical.

In line with the habitual negative marker described above, another form of the negative is *mán*. The /n/ in this form is not a future marker because it does not carry any future connotation. It is thus treated as being part of the negative marker. The /n/ is always deleted in speech when this negative marker is used as a prohibitive, perhaps for ease of pronunciation. Observe the following examples.

43a.　　*ó*　　*má*　　*chò*　　*nfèè*
　　　　2SG　　NEG　　pass　　here
　　　　'Do not pass here'

---

[22] I thank one of my examiners for pointing out the possibility of /y/ not being a morpheme in the word yí, but an epenthetic glide that is inserted to break up two vowels in example (41b).

b.   *ó*   *má*   *mùsèé*
         2SG   NEG   laugh
         'Do not laugh'

There is also the form of the negative marker where after the deletion of the segment /n/, the vowel is lengthened. This thus produces the form of the negative marker *màà.* Again, most probably for ease of pronunciation, this is the marker that is always used by all the speakers in these contexts. The following examples show how it is used.

44a.   *Ámá*   *màà*   *rɔ́*
         NAME   NEG   in
         'Ama is not in'

b.   *è*   *màá*   *lé*
         3SG   NEG   hard
         'It is not hard'

2.9.2   Insertion of segments

The only segment that has been observed to be inserted in speech is /n/. It is used in two contexts. In the first context, it is inserted after a word that does not end with it. After its insertion, the /n/ becomes part of the word. In the second context, it occurs before a verb and is thus marked on the verb. In both contexts, its insertion might be for the purpose of ease of pronunciation. In example (45a) below, the form of the word is *sé* 'matter'. When it is used in speech, an /n/ is inserted after the form as can be seen in examples (b and c). This /n/ is also pronounced to suit the place of articulation of the following sound. It is thus the underlying form that changes its place feature under the influence of a following consonant sound. Observe the following examples which are instances of the first context described above.

45a.   *ŋù*   'head *sé*   'matter'   *ŋù sé*   'wisdom/knowledge'
        nyììrɔ́ 'face' *sé*   'matter'   *nyììrɔ́ sé*   'hope'

b.   *Ámá*   *è*   *bísà*   *mí*   *sèŋ*   *kò*
         NAME 3SG   ask   1SG   matter INDEF
         'Ama asked me something'

c.   *sèn*   *díá*   *è*   *báhé*   *mí*
         matter DEF   3SG   worry 1SG
         'This matter or issue worries me'

There is another type of insertion where /n/ is inserted before a verb. The /n/ must agree in place of articulation with the following sound. In example (46a), the form /n/ inserted between the verbs is from the serial connector *kán*. The /n/ is inserted between the two verbs to link them, just as the full form of the connector does. Though the verbs *hɔɔ̀* 'take/collect' and *jì* 'eat' are connected by /n/, they can also be connected by its full form *kán*. This is also same for *yɔ́* and *bá.* In examples

(b and c), we observe that /n/ is marked on the verbs *bù* 'cover' and *há* 'give'. This form of /n/ is, however, not from the serial connector *kán*. Consider the examples below.

46a.   *hɔ̀ɔ̀*   'take/collect'   *jì*   'eat'   →   *hɔ̀ɔ̀ **nj**ì*   'collect and eat (believe)'
       yɔ́   'go'   *bá*   'come' →   *yɔ̀ **m**bà*   'go and come'

b.   *Bwàrè **mb**ú   ànì*
     God   cover   1PL
     'God cover us'

c.   *Bwàrè **nh**á   ání   kɛ̀*
     God   give   1PL   tomorrow
     'God give us tomorrow'

/n/ can also be inserted after pronouns and be marked on it in speech. In the examples below, /n/ is marked on the pronouns *è* '3SG' and *á* '1PL' and occurs before the possibility marker *tín*. The inserted /n/ is bolded.

47a.   *Kòfí   è**n**   tín   chàà   fnɛ́   Michael Jackson*
       NAME   3SG   BE.ABLE   dance   like   Michael Jackson
       'Kofi can dance like Michael Jackson'

b.   *pɔ̀ɔ̀   díá   è**n**   tín   kwìì   sɔ́   à?*
     stick   DEF   3SG   BE.ABLE   cut   thing   Q
     'Can this stick cut a thing?'

c.   *míà   nɛ̀   wó   á**n**   tín   yɔ̀   ndɔ̀ɔ̀-rɔ́   à?*
     1SG   CONJ   2SG   1PL   BE.ABLE   go   farm-SFX   Q
     'Can you and I go to the farm?'

2.9.3   *Vowel elision*

Vowel elision occurs in Dompo when one of two adjacent vowels gets elided. Usually, when the last vowel of a word is followed by a vowel, the initial vowel gets elided and takes on all the features of the following vowel. There is subsequent lengthening of the remaining vowel. This happens in rapid speech. Thus, when the conjunction or conditional marker *nɛ́* occurs before the pronouns *é* '1SG', *è* '3SG', *ó* '2SG' and *à* 1PL', the /ɛ/ of *nɛ́* gets elided and is pronounced as the following sound. The combination is pronounced as one word. The following examples illustrate this.

48a.   *í   nɛ̀   à   jí   →   í   nàà   jí*
       let   CONJ   1PL   eat   let   CONJ.1PL   eat
       'Let us eat'   'let us eat'

b.   *nɛ́   è   mìn   tré   mí   má-n   yɔ́   →   nɛ́è mìn tré mí mán yɔ́*
     COND   3SG   NEG   call   1SG   NEG.FUT   go
     'If he does not call me, I will not go'

c. *né   ó   bùŋè   mú   mí-n   brí   wó   →   nóó bùŋè mú mín brí wó*
    COND 2SG   open   3SG   1SG.FUT beat   2SG
    'If you open it, I will beat you'

In the above examples, the conditional marker *né* occurs before the pronoun markers. Notice also that the vowel of this marker gets elided and hence it takes on all the features of the pronoun. This is further illustrated in the output and after the arrow in the above examples.

2.9.4 *Assimilation*

In rapid speech, sounds influence each other. When a sound influences another, such that the latter sound becomes like the former, the process is called assimilation. The influence here could either be total or partial. If it is partial, some features of the influencing sound are copied. If it is total all the features of the influencing sound are copied. Katamba (1989: 80) defines assimilation as 'the modification of a sound in order to make it more similar to some other sound in its neighbourhood". Lass (1984: 171) notes that in assimilation, a segment becomes more like another, or segments become more like each other. The sections that follow discuss other types of assimilation namely, homorganic nasal assimilation, vowel harmony nasalization, labialization and palatalization.

2.9.4.4 *Homorganic nasal assimilation*

Katamba (1989: 90) notes that homorganic nasal assimilation occurs "when a nasal shares the place of articulation of the following consonant". In homorganic nasal assimilation, an oral consonant influences a nasal consonant to change its place of articulation features. Thus, the following oral consonant influences the preceding nasal consonant. The assimilatory process is regressive, or the influence is from right to left. The nasal consonants mostly involved in this assimilatory process in Dompo are /m/, /n/, /ŋ/. Homorganic nasal assimilation is manifested in some words, plurals of nouns, and non-countable nouns.

In example (49), though it cannot be established whether these are the original forms of the words or whether the influence is as a result of the sounds co-articulating, what can be noticed is that there is agreement in place of articulation between the nasals and the oral sounds that succeed them. It can be concluded that the underlying sound /n/ influences the oral bilabial sounds /b, p/ to agree in place of articulation. The /n/ similarly agrees in place of articulation before a following /d/ sound. The velar sounds /k/ and /g/ influence the preceding nasal /n/ to suit its place of articulation. /n/ thus changes to become /ŋ/. The labiodental fricative /f/, however, does not influence the alveolar nasal /n/ to take its place of articulation feature. The alveolar nasal /n/ does not change its feature before a labiodental sound. Observe this in the example below.

49.   **m**.*pòndè*   'marriage'

        dòm.bólí   'fence'

        n.*fà*[23]   'horn'

        kú.ràn.dé   'cotton'

        n.*dré*   'yesterday'

        ŋ.*kròfɛ̃*   'fingernail'

        ŋ.*glà*   'crab'

The underlying plural marker /n/ of some nouns is also influenced by the following consonant to change its place of articulation to suit the latter. In example (50) below, the plural form *n-* of the singular marker *ka-* changes its place of articulation to suit the following sound, This phenomenon in examples (50 and 51) has also been discussed in (§2.8.1.3).

50.

singular	meaning	plural	meaning
kàkɛ̀	'day'	*ŋkɛ̀*	'days'
kàgbènè	'okra'	*ŋgbènè*	'okra'
kàtnɔ̌	'mouse'	*ntnɔ̌*	'mice'
kàbìà	'child'	*mbìà*	'children'
kájrɛ́wɛ́	'mushroom'	*njrɛ́wɛ́*	'mushrooms'
yìsòòrè	'fruit (sg)'	*nsòòrè*[24]	'fruit (pl)'

In the same vein, non-countable or mass nouns which have the underlying plural marker /n/ change their form to suit the place of articulation of the following consonant. The following examples show this.

51.   **ŋ**klà   'blood'

        ŋkǔ   'oil'

        nflɔ̀   'salt'

        nsǔ   'water'

        nsínɛ́   'ashes'

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[23] Assimilation has been perceived not to occur with labiodentals in Dompo. The alveolar sound /n/ assimilates to a labiodental sound /f/.

[24] This singular prefix -*yí* is different from the usual -*ká* prefix for some singular nouns. *Yí* means tree in Dompo and in effect, *yìsòòrè* means fruit bearing tree. Apart from certain specific crops such as orange, corn/maize, groundnut, pepper, okra, eggplant, the general name for all trees bearing fruits is *yìsòòrè*.

m*pùnà*   'dust'

The /n/ of the negative marker *mìn* assimilates to a following consonant and copies its place of articulation features. Examples (52a-c) show this. Similarly, the future tense marker, which is marked on pronouns, changes its place of articulation to match that of the following sound. This is also illustrated in examples (53a-d). The nasal sounds are boldened in the examples below.

52a.   *Ámá*   *è*   *mì***ŋ**   *kúlé*   *Gbwàrèngò*
        NAME   3SG   NEG   beg   God
        'Ama does not pray'

b.   *á*   *mí***m**   *bɔ́*   *jí-sɔ́*
        1PL   NEG   make   eat-thing
        'We do not cook food'

c.   *é*   *mí***n**   *shìè*   *jɔ́*
        1SG   NEG   chew   yam
        'I do not eat yam'

53a.   *è-***n**   *tré*   *mí*
        3SG.FUT   call   1SG
        'He/she will call me'

b.   *mí-***m**   *brí*   *Kòfí*
        1SG.FUT   beat   NAME
        'I will beat Kofi'

c.   *ó-***ŋ**   *kwíí*   *kpá*   *à?*
        2SG.FUT   cut   road   Q
        'Will you travel?'

d.   *bà-***n**   *féé*   *kàbò*   *wá*
        3PL.FUT   sweep   place   DET
        'They will sweep the place'

2.9.4.5 Nasalization

When an oral segment acquires nasality from a neighbouring segment, the process is described as nasalization (Katamba 1989: 93). Nasalization primarily affects vowels in Dompo. Thus, a vowel may naturally undergo nasalization when it either precedes or succeeds a nasal consonant. However, there are instances where some vowels are nasalized without the presence of a nasal consonant. In this case, nasalization aids in establishing phonemic contrasts between words. Nasalization occurs within a syllable. However, both the nasal consonant and the oral vowel that is being nasalized may or may not be in the same syllable domain. The discussion that follows focusses on vowel nasalization in mono and disyllables, some inherent nasal sounds and direction of nasalization in Dompo.

2.9.4.2.1   Vowel nasalization in mono and disyllables

As indicated earlier, nasalization affects vowels which may or may not be in the same syllable domain as the nasal consonant. On the other hand, some vowels may be inherently nasal as can be seen in example (55). Observe some instances of vowel nasalization in example (54) below.

54a.   monosyllabic words

dṹŋ	'extinguish'	*dä́ŋ*	'to grow'
mɔ̃́ɔ̃́	'kill'	*nyä́*	'be sour'
tĩ́n	'possibility'	*jɔ̃́ŋ*	'be spoilt'
nyɔ̀̃ɔ̃́	'two'		

b.   disyllabic words

gɔ̀̃ŋ.gɔ̀.rɔ́	'chameleon'	*ŋä́.sáá*	'proverb'
bĩ́.nĩ́	'faeces'	*ŋä̀.síì*	'sneeze'
káp.nĩ́	'mosquito'	*bṹn.flɔ̀*	'urine'
ŋɔ̃́n.sé	'bee'	*jɔ̀̃.ŋà*	'squat'
sɔ̀̃.mì	'work'	*kpä́.nú*	'nine'
sɔ̀̃.nɔ̃́	'seven'		

c.   compounds

hɔ̀ɔ̀	'receive'	*njí*	'eat'	[*hɔ̀̃ɔ̀̃ njì*]	'believe'
sàŋgè	'untie'	*rɔ́*	'in'	[*sàŋgè rɔ̃́*]	'revive'
dɔ́ɔ́	'weed'	*rɔ́*	'in'	[*ndɔ̀̃ɔ̀̃ rɔ̃́*]	'farm'

The above examples in (54a and b) show instances of nasalization in mono and disyllabic stems where an oral vowel is influenced by an adjacent nasal sound. The compound examples in (54c), however, show the vowels that undergo nasalization are in a different syllabic domain from the nasal sounds that influence them. In the word *hɔ̀̃ɔ̀̃ njì* 'believe', there is an insertion of the nasal segment /n/ which, though marked on the verb, is a syllable on its own. It thus influences the preceding vowel to take on its nasal features. In *sàŋgè rɔ̃́* 'revive', the nasal /ŋ/ lends its features to the vowel /ɔ/ in another syllable domain and does not necessarily influence the vowel sounds in the same syllabic domain with it. Similar to the first example, /n/ is inserted at the beginning of the word *ndɔ̀̃ɔ̀̃ rɔ̃́* 'farm'. By so doing, it forms its own syllable and subsequently influences the vowel in the next syllable domain. Assimilatory nasalization occurs in all these examples.

Some vowels are inherently nasal and thus show that nasalization is phonemic in Dompo. These vowels do not rely on the presence of an adjacent nasal consonant to acquire nasal features. The following examples in (55) below exemplify this.

55. *hã̀*   'give'   *pũ̀à*   'abscess'

     pã̀   'sun'   *kpã́*   'arrow'

     kɛ̃́ɛ̃́   'groan/grunt'   *sṹ*   'cry'

     dìɔ̃̀   'twenty'   *tã́*   'forget'

     chã̀   'guinea fowl'   *gbɔ̃́ɔ̃́*   'fat/large'

     sĩ̀   'short'

2.9.4.2.1.1 Direction of nasal assimilation

The direction of nasalization in Dompo can be said to be both progressive and regressive. When the nasal sound is on the left, and the oral vowel it influences is directly to its right, assimilation is progressive, as can be seen in example (56) below. Regressive assimilation however occurs when the nasal sound is positioned on the right and the oral sound it influences, is on its left. This is shown in example (57) below. All vowels next to nasals may become nasalized as depicted in these examples.

56. *mɔ̃́ɔ̃́*   'kill'   *nyã́*   'be sour'

     ŋũ̀   'head'   *ŋã̀.síì*   'sneeze'

     ŋɔ̃́n.sé   'bee'

57. *jɔ̃́ŋ*   'be spoilt'   *bũ̀n.flɔ̀*   'urine'

     dã́ŋ   'to grow'   *jɔ̃̀.ŋà*   'squat'

     kpã́.nú   'nine'

There is however no recorded instance of consonant nasalization, where an oral consonant totally assimilates to a preceding nasal consonant in Dompo.

2.9.4.6 Labialization

Labialization is a process whereby a segment becomes labialized when it occurs before a rounded vowel. The consonant is said with a protruded lip because of the influence of the rounded vowel (Katamba 1989; Maddieson 1984). The vowels that mostly aid in labializing consonants are /u/, /ʊ/, /o/, /ɔ/. Consider the following examples.

58.	fò	[fʷò]	'blow'	drú	[drʷú]	'medicine'
	sɔ́	[sʷɔ́]	'animal'	mùséé	[mʷùséé]	'laugh'
	lɔ́	[lʷɔ́]	'be sick/ill'	sṹ	[sʷṹ]	'cry'
	fɔ́	[fʷɔ́]	'guest/visitor'	dó	[dʷó]	'hate'
	kɔ̀nɔ́	[kʷɔ̀nɔ́]	'neck'	sɔ̀mì	[sʷɔ̀mì]	'work'
	prɔ́	[prʷɔ́]	'mould'	tɔ̀	[tʷɔ̀]	'roast/buy'
	bù	[bʷù]	'room'	kɔ́	[kʷɔ́]	'debt'
	yúú	[yʷúú]	'build'	fró	[frʷó]	'wash'
	dɔ́ɔ́	[dʷɔ́ɔ́]	'dig'	dú	[dʷú]	'plant'
	jòò	[jʷòò]	'chase'	njɔ̀	[njʷɔ̀]	'song'

In the examples above, the superscript [ʷ] is used after consonants to indicate that the consonants have been labialized because of the influence of the following rounded vowel. Aside from the above form of labialization, there are other words in which a labio-velar glide /w/ occurs after the initial consonant, forming a CC cluster. The vowels that follows the cluster are front vowels. It is assumed that the labio-velar sound naturally causes the preceding consonant to be labial. Below are some examples to consider.

59.	/fʷ/	fwè 'fat', jɔ́fwɛ́ 'bark of a tree/ shell'
	/kʷ/	kwìì 'cut'
	/pʷ/	kápwɛ́ 'pot for water', pwè 'insult'
	/bʷ/	bwèèrɔ́ 'wander/roam', bwì 'stone'

As can be noted in example (59) above, the labio-velar glide /w/ is followed by unrounded vowels indicating that it is the labio-velar glide that gives its labial features to the initial consonant for labialisation to occur. There is a further discussion of the CCV syllable type and its possible cluster combinations in (§2.8.1.2).

2.9.4.7 Palatalization

Palatalization is a phonological process whereby a non-low vowel influences a preceding consonant to be produced with a raising of the tongue front, towards the hard palate (Katamba 1989: 101). The non-low vowels that aid in palatalization are /i/, /ɪ/, /e/, /ɛ/. Below are some words in which the initial consonants undergo palatalization.

60. *pìà*   [pʲìà]   'catch'   *kìì*   [kʲìì]   'fry'

     tìŋè [tʲìŋè] 'wake up'   *dèhè* [ɗʲèhè] 'sleep'

     kìnì [kʲìnì] 'look/watch]   *lèpέ* [lʲèpέ] 'plate/bowl'

     díí   [ɗʲíí]   'climb'   *fèè*   [fʲèè]   'sweep'

     fέ   [fʲέ]   'sell'   *lìà*   [lʲìà]   'pick/choose'

Chapter 3:   NOUNS, NOUN PHRASES AND NOMINAL MODIFIERS

3. 1.   *Introduction*

This chapter concentrates on nouns in Dompo which is discussed in (§3. 2.). (§3. 3.) discusses the structure of the Dompo noun while nouns, noun classes and noun class prefixes are further discussed in (§3. 4.). Subsections under this section include, the ka- singular prefix (§3. 4. 1.), ny-body part prefix (§3. 4. 2.), plural prefixes (§3. 4. 3.), a- prefix (§3. 4. 4.) and prefix-less nouns (§3. 4. 5.). The various types of nouns in Dompo are explored in (§3. 5.). Subsections under this are, proper names versus common nouns (§3. 5. 1.), Dompo personal names in (§3.5.1.1), naming system in some parts of Ghana (§3.5.1.2) and mass versus count nouns in (§3.5.2).   A discussion of loan nouns follows in (§3.6). Compounding is further analyzed in (§3.7), subsections that follow include compounding of nouns (§3.7.1) and noun and adjective compounding (§3.7.2). This is followed by a discussion on nominalization in (§3.8). Subsections under this include, agentive nominalization (§3.8.1), instrument nominalization (§3.8.2) and location nominalization (§3.8.3). Pronouns are examined in (§3.9) while subject pronouns (§3.9.1), object pronouns (§3.9.2), independent pronouns (§3.9.3), possessive pronouns (§3.9.4) and reflexive pronouns in (§3.9.5). Noun phrase is treated in (§3.10) while types of noun phrases are discussed in (§3.10.1).   Subsections under this include conjoined NPs (§3.10.1.1), alternate NPs (§3.10.1.2) and possessive NPs (§3.10.1.3). Nominal modifiers are explored in (§3.10.2) and Adjectives are discussed in (§3.11).   Semantic types of adjectives are treated in (§3.12). Subsections of this include dimension (§3.12.1), value (§3.12.2), colour (§3.12.3), age (§3.12.4), physical property (§3.12.5), speed (§3.12.6) and human propensity (§3.12.7). Quantification of adjectives are treated in (§3.13), and numerals in (§3.14). Sections under this are, cardinal numbers (§3.14.1) and ordinal numbers (§3.14.2). The chapter ends with an analysis of determiners (§3.15)

3. 2.   *Nouns*

Nouns are part of the larger category of speech referred to as grammatical categories, parts of speech or word classes (Payne 1997: 32; Van Valin 2004: 6). In addition to verbs, adjectives and adverbs, they form the major word classes in languages, while pronouns, determiners, conjunctions, demonstratives and adpositions form the minor word classes. The major word classes carry more semantic content than the minor word classes.

3. 3.   *Structure of the Dompo Noun*

Many of the nouns in Dompo are made up of a single root word, either monosyllabic or multisyllabic, which cannot be further divided, as can be seen in example (1a). Nouns can also be

a combination of two or more root words making them compounds as shown in example (1b). There are the nouns that have been identified to have prefixes, as illustrated in example (1c). Prefixes are further discussed in (§3. 4.). We can thus postulate that the structure of the noun in Dompo is,

1a.　　ROOT ONLY　*hàlé* 'arm', *jàmplò* 'thigh', *flɛ́* 'month /moon', *bó* 'river', *bèè* 'mountain', *fá* 'grass'

b.　　ROOT + ROOT *kámbrɔ́* 'stomach' + *flá* 'rope' — *kámbrɔ́ flá* 'intestines', *nyìnè* 'man' + *nsṹ* 'water' — *nyìnè nsṹ* 'semen', *sèpè* 'ear' + *sɔ́* — *sèpè sɔ́* 'earring'

c.　　PREFIX + STEM *ká-mɛ́* 'womb', *ny-ììrɔ́* 'face', *ŋ-gɔ̀lí* 'knee', *m-bìà* 'children', *n-flɔ̀* 'salt', *á-sɔ́* 'animal'

3. 4.　*Nouns, noun classes and noun class prefixes in Dompo*

A noun is used to identify people, objects and places. Nouns precede all modifiers in Dompo. The language does not seem to have a rich system of noun classes. Some of the noun classes identified for discussion in the subsequent sections, have prefix-like behavior, such as *ka* in (§3. 4. 1.). This prefix-like marker becomes the plural marker in the form of the nasal *n-* in (§3. 4. 3.). Also, because the different prefix-like markers have the tendency to align with different semantic fields, there is some diachronic evidence for marking them as prefixes. There seems to be an active noun class system in North and South Guang languages (Snider 1989a). Snider (1988: 138) however notes that the noun class system of Northern Guang languages are richer than those of the Southern Guang group and considers the noun class system of the latter group as collapsing.

Dompo has been opined to be a part of the North-Guang language group. Dompo might have once had an active noun class prefix system which may have been lost over time. It could also be that the noun class prefix system was never active in the first place. Some synthesis in (§9.3) however proves the former point to be more viable. This notwithstanding, no conclusive evidence can be given for what the noun class prefix system was, because of the very little work done on the language. For a broader discussion of noun class systems in related languages and some other Kwa languages, refer to (Snider 1988; Osam 1993; Bodomo & Marfo 2006; Agbetsoamedo 2014; Essegbey 2009; Dorvlo 2009; Bobuafor 2009). The discussion that unfolds is based on data collected from a plethora of nouns in the language.

Schuh (1995: 128) explains that the concept noun class has been used in two unique ways in the description of African languages. Firstly, he states "that 'class' is a single set of morphological concords which may show up as affixes on noun stems, affixes on noun modifiers and pronominal referents to nouns. Secondly, a 'class' is a paired set of concords of type 1 where one member of

the pair has a singular referent and the other member is a plural corresponding to that singular". The notion of noun class used in this discussion is largely dependent on the first description since there are some nouns that do not exhibit either singularity or plurality in Dompo. Snider (1989) identified noun class systems with nine categories in Guang languages, which are largely based on their singular and plural prefixes. This is not the case for Dompo.

The current study establishes that the majority of the nouns in Dompo do not belong to classes identified by a prefix-like marker. The ones that have been identified to do so will be the focus of the discussions in the subsequent sections. These nouns are made up of a nominal prefix, which is attached to other bound morphemes to derive their meanings. Some of the prefixes have a CV structure while the others have the structure C. There are very few nouns that have the prefix consisting only of V.

As indicated earlier, the present noun class system in Dompo may be described as remnants of a once active system. The prefix-like markers identified include the *ka-* prefix, under which there are several categories of noun classifications. The next classes are the *ny-*, followed by *ŋ-*, and then *n-*. The last class is the *a-* class. Below is a discussion of the various noun classes identified in Dompo.

3. 4. 1.   The ka- singular prefix

The *ka* prefix is used to mark singular number. This has also been observed in (Snider 1988). Words with this prefix are the most common amongst the identified noun classes in Dompo. There are a number of nouns grouped under different semantic categories with this prefix. The prefix *ka* can be found in a number of categories of nouns. It is evident that though all the words that have *ka* as a prefix are all nouns, by further grouping them in terms of sematic categories, we gain a better understanding of the classes of nouns the prefix operates in. *ka-* is a prefix to the semantic category of words that refer to body parts. Observe them in the following examples.

2.   *ká-srɔ́*   'forehead'   *kà-ŋɔ̀̃nɔ̀*   'nose'

      ká-nú   'mouth'   *ká-mnɛ́*   'back'

      ká-míáhé   'abdomen'   *ká-yɛ̀*   'chin'

      ká-gbʊ́nɔ́   'chest'   *ká-gbíní*   'heart'

      kà-kràhɛ̀   'gall bladder'   *ká-mbrɔ́*   'stomach (internal)'

      ká-mɛ́   'womb'   *ŋù ká-wɛ́*   'skull'

The tone on the prefix is a high tone in most of the examples. Often, when the tone on the prefix is high, the tones on the other vowels are also high. When the tone on the prefix is a low one, the other tones are also low.

Another category of nouns that have the singular prefix *ka-* are animals. Consider the following examples.

3. | *kà-tnɔ̀* | 'mouse' | *kà-ntètè/ ká-nú wúrá* | 'dog' |
    |---|---|---|---|
    | *kà-nyrànyìsì/ kà-nyààlò* | 'cat' | *ká-pnɪ̋* | 'mosquito' |
    | *ká-jáánú* | 'shrew' | *kà-bwê* | 'bird' |
    | *ká-líí* | 'dove' | *kà-bɛ̀ɛ̌* | 'fish' |
    | *kà-dènsá* | 'gecko' | *kà-tótó* | 'butterfly' |
    | *ká̋-ŋká̋* | 'termite' | *ká-náá* | 'scorpion' |

The third use of the singular *ka-* prefix is made up of inanimate nouns. The singular marks one piece of item. Some of the items found in this category are household objects, clothing and vegetables. The following are some examples.

4. | *ká-wɛ́* | 'calabash' | *kà-dègbè* | 'hoe' |
    |---|---|---|---|
    | *ká-fɛ́* | 'axe' | *ká-kɛ́* | 'basket' |
    | *ká-pwɛ́* | 'water pot' | *ká-plɔ́* | 'cooking pot' |
    | *kà-tòpò* | 'spoon/ladle' | *kà-dɛ̀ɛ̀* | 'firewood' |
    | *ká-wí* | 'town' | *kà-wòlé* | 'ground' |
    | *ká-tlú* | 'hut' | *kà-bùnɔ̀ pé* | 'doorway' |
    | *kà-chà* | 'cloth' | *kà-wùró* | 'hat/cap' |
    | *kà-dààrà* | 'orange' | *kà-gbènè* | 'okro' |
    | *kà-trè* | 'eggplant' | *ká-jrɛ́wɛ́* | 'mushroom' |

The last use of the *ka-* prefix describes noun categories best classified as time frames. With the exception of *kàkè* 'day' which has a plural marking, *ŋkè* 'days', all the temporal nouns in example (5) words do not have plural forms. This implies that the *ka-* prefix used to mark this category marks a different domain of nouns and not singular nouns. Observe the examples below.

5. | *kà-kè* | 'day' | *ká-fáánú* | 'year' |
    |---|---|---|---|
    | *kà-brè* | 'today' | *kà-kná* | 'morning' |
    | *kà-pàá* | 'noon' | *ká-nyáá* | 'night' |
    | *ká-déŋkèèrè* | 'dawn' | *kà-dèèwó* | 'evening' |

3. 4. 2.   *ny- body part prefix*

The next noun prefix in Dompo is *ny-*. It attaches to morphemes that refer to singular body parts. It can be observed that this prefix is always followed by a vowel. Consider the following examples.

6.   *ny-í*   'teeth'   *ny-ópó*   'breast'

       ny-ììrɔ́   'face'   *ny-ìsì*   'eye'

       ny-ìsì kámnɛ̀   'eye lid'   *ny-ìsì fúú*   'eye lash/brow'

There is another prefix *ŋ-* that attaches to other morphemes and also describes body part nouns. It may be an allomorph of the *ny-* prefix described above. *ŋ-* is followed by the velar stops /k/ and /g/ as can be seen in the following examples.

7.   *ŋ-gɔ̀lí*   'knee'   *ŋ-gbì*   'cheek'

       ŋ-gbì wúú   'jaw'   *ŋ-klɛ̀ mɛ̀*   'side of the body'

3. 4. 3.   *Plural prefixes*

The plural prefix *n-* marks plurality for nouns whose singular form has the prefix *ka-*. The nasal /n/ changes its quality to either /m/ or /ŋ/ to suit the place of articulation of the consonant that follows it. The examples below illustrate the singular forms with the prefix *ka-* and their plurals forms.

8.   **Singular**   **Plural**

       kà-dɛ̀ɛ̀   'firewood'   *n-dɛ̀ɛ̀*   'firewood (pl)'

       kà-trè   'eggplant'   *n-trè*   'eggplant (pl)'

       kà-chà   'cloth'   *n-chà*   'clothes'

       kà-tnɔ̀   'mouse'   *n-tnɔ̀̃*   'mice'

       ká-jréwɛ́   'mushroom'   *n-jrɛ̀wɛ̀*   'mushroom (pl)'

       kà-dààrà   'orange'   *n-dààrà*   'oranges'

       kà-bìà   *'child'*   *m-bìà*   'children'

       kà-bɛ̀ɛ̃́   'fish'   *m-bɛ̀ɛ̃́*   'fish (pl)'

       kà-kɛ̀   'day'   *ŋ-kɛ̀*   'days'

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kà-gbènè	'okro'	*ŋ-gbènè*	'okro (pl)'

The second use of the prefix *n-* is to represent non-count nouns. It changes its place of articulation to be homorganic with the following consonant. Most of the nouns in this category are either liquid or are in states that cannot be counted. Snider (1988: 152-153) also observes this plural prefix in Guang languages. The nouns in this category do not have singular counterparts. Below are examples to illustrate this.

9.	*n-sǔ*	'water'	*ŋ-kǔ*	'oil'
	n-sà	'drink'	*n-flɔ̀*	'salt'
	ŋ-klà	'blood'	*m-pònà*	'dust'
	n-sìnέ	'ashes'	*n-sòòrè*	'beans'
	ŋ-kpà	'life'	*n-fànà*	'leaves'
	ŋ-kpὲchὲέ	'stars'		

3. 4. 4. *a- prefix*

Only a small number of nouns have the prefix *a-* in Dompo. It is possible that per the structure of this prefix, other vowels could have filled this slot and there could have been more noun classes based on these individual vowels. A larger V-prefix is evident in other Guang languages (Snider 1989a; 1989b). The examples below show that these are the only nouns from the corpus that have a V structure as the prefix.

10.	*á-fúú*	'wind, air'	*à-wòó*	'harmattan, dry season'
	á-sɔ́	'animal'	*à-nì*	'1st Person Plural'
	à-wìsɔ́	'porcupine'		

3. 4. 5. *Prefix-less nouns*

Aside from these nouns that have prefixes, there are a larger number of Dompo nouns that do not to have any nominal prefix. These can be categorized into human and non-human nouns. Below are examples from both categories. The examples in (11a) show prefix-less classes that are human while the examples in (11b) show those that are non-human.

11a.	*níí*	'mother'	*nàkpà*	'friend'
	wápá	'mother's brother'	*fɔ́*	'guest/ visitor'
	wúrá	'chief'	*ntrô*	'father'

b.	*wὲ*	'snake'	*sὲpὲ*	'ear'
	lɔ̀ŋɔ̀	'hare'	*glìhɔ̀*	'iron, metal'
	sló	'elephant'	*dàndúlò*	'tongue'
	sὲndὲ	'sheep'	*blɑ̌*	'meat'
	lὲpέ	'plate'	*púrí*	'bag'
	hàlé	'arm, hand'	*làŋὲ*	'hawk'

3. 5. *Types of nouns in Dompo*

This section focuses on the two major kinds of nouns in Dompo and gives examples that can be found under each type. The nouns that will be discussed are proper names versus common nouns in (§3. 5. 1.) and mass versus count nouns in (§3.5.2).

3. 5. 1. *Proper names versus common nouns*

Payne (1997: 39) refers to proper names as nouns that are used to identify and refer to particular personages or places that are deemed to be culturally significant. They are also recognized as such by interlocutors. He further notes that proper names do not usually occur with articles, pronouns, possessors or other noun modifiers. In this sense, proper names in Dompo include personal names such as Kosi Mila, Kofi Nakpa, Emmanuel Dwirah, Afua Nimena, Abena Kuma, Akua Donkor and Nyìnìmpé. Personage names (fictional or historical characters) include *Bwàrèngò* 'God' *Nyíní Wùráchὲ* (the foremost ancestress), *màlὲέ* 'name of the Dompo shrine'. Place names such as Dompofie, Gbao, Makala, Kabronu, Banda Ahenkro are also included in this category.

Common nouns refer to those categories of nouns that are more general or not distinctly identifiable. Following Asante (2016), the following categories of common nouns have been identified in Dompo. Observe them below.

12a.   **Flora** → *yí* 'tree', *lírá* 'baobab tree', *klὲ* 'silk cotton tree/kapok tree', *ŋklèwú yí* 'shea butter tree', *wí yí* 'thorn tree', *kùùwὲ*[25] 'coconut palm', *kàjàgblὲ* 'raffia palm', *fá* 'bush/ grass', *kákné* 'bamboo', *nfànà* leaf'.

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[25] The Dompos call a particular type of coconut that grows in the wild, *kùùwὲ*. The content of this coconut is cooked into a porridge and may be sold if made in large quantity. In its preparation, the coconut is broken by pounding it in a mortar. The content, which is yellowish in colour is cooked on fire for some time. After it is cooked, it is taken out and the chaff on the seed is squeezed out thoroughly until all the juice is collected. The juice is sieved and cooked again for some time and further poured on cooked maize to become porridge. The seed of the coconut is also edible and eaten like a nut.

b. **Fauna→** *ŋɔ́nsé* 'bee', *nànàngló* 'millipede', *brɔ̀kɔ́kɔ́* 'duck', *gbáŋá* 'horse', *gbó* 'buffalo', *yá* 'baboon', *klá* 'grasscutter', *kùlélé* 'pangolin', *lɔ̀ŋɔ̀* 'hare', *chápó* 'squirrel', *kɔ́ŋkɔ́* 'bat', *làŋè* 'hawk', *brὲ* 'puff adder', *pló* 'frog', *kápácháá* 'turtle'

c. **Geographic/ meteorological/ atmospheric →** *wàngrá* 'world' *kàwòlé* 'earth', *sósó* 'sky', *kpèchὲέ* 'cloud', *pà̃* 'sun', *flὲ* 'moon', *áfúú* 'wind', *bwàrè* 'rain', *mbónsú* 'dew'

d. **Artefacts →** *tòò sɔ̀* 'gun', *tókòmbé* 'sword', *kàkùrè* 'drum', *ŋkrègbó* 'talking drum', *kàblè* 'flute', *píní* 'mortar/pounding pot', *pínímpɔ̀ɔ̀* 'pestle/pounding stick', *pèsè* 'broom', *kwìì sɔ̀* 'knife'.

e. **Kinship terms →** *níí* 'mother', *trò* 'father', *klú* 'husband', *ká* 'wife', *bì nyìnè* 'son', *bì chὲὲ* 'daughter' *chὲὲ mìnà* 'co-wife', *wápá* 'uncle', *sáá* 'in-law'

f. **Leadership, cultural and professional terms →** *wúrá* 'chief', *kádrè* 'elder', *pìà pó* 'soldier', *ŋná pó* 'teacher', *cháá pó*, 'fetish priest', *kplá pó* 'fortune teller/diviner', *pám pó* 'hunter', *prɔ́ pó* 'potter', *fɛ̃́ pó* 'trader'.

g. **Body part nouns→** *ŋù* 'head', *kásrɔ́* 'forehead', *kɔ̀̃nɔ́* 'neck', *ŋgbì* 'cheek', *bàà* 'shoulder', *sré* 'waist', *sèpè* 'ear', *hàlé* 'hand', *hàlémbì* 'finger', *ntònɔ̀bá* 'buttock'.

h. **Traditional food terms →** *pó* 'soup/stew', *nsà fúflù* 'palm wine', *kàkònɔ̀*[26] 'food cooked with dried cassava powder', *kàplà* 'pounded yam/cassava', *jɔ́* 'yam', *lí* 'cassava/manioc', *nflɔ̀ jɔ́* 'sweet potatoes', *shìà pὲprὲ jɔ́* (white man's yam) 'potato', *bàsàwè* 'maize/corn', *nὲέ* 'millet, *tòó* 'sorghum', *pɔ̀sὲέ* 'cola nut'.

Some languages allow for modification of proper names in order for easier identification, ie tall or short John. Dompo allows for this type of modification. In Dompo, proper names have been identified to collocate with most of the nominal modifiers such as determiners, adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, possessors and relative clauses. In example (13a and b), the determiner *wá* 'the' and the descriptive adjective *sὶ̃* 'short' modify the proper name Ama. Similarly, the numeral *krí* 'ten', the quantifier *chɔ̀* 'many' and the possessor pronoun *ó* '2SG.POSS' in examples (13 c-d) modify the proper names Kofi and Ama respectively. Kofi is also modified by the relative clause, *mù kó è bá nfèè* 'he who came here' in example (13g). Finally, in example (13h), the place name Dompofie is modified by the relative clause *kó bì máléé Dòmpò* 'where they speak Dompo'.

Proper names may be used with modifiers in the language for semantic clarification in context-specific situations where the speaker might be comparing different people with the same name. In

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[26] The popular Akan name for this food is *àbìtìέ*. The Akan name for pounded yam/cassava is fufu.

light of there being many referents bearing the same day born name such as Ama and Kofi, this clarification is very necessary. Additionally, the names are used with modifiers in context-specific situations where comparisons are done between two different people with the same name. Modifiers can, however, be used only with personal names and not with place names in the language.

Though proper names can be modified by other nominal modifiers in Dompo, they cannot occur with plural prefix markers, while common nouns can. Thus, we cannot have the plural prefix /n/ attach to the proper names Kofi or Ama or any other noun in that category. This is one-way that proper names are different from common nouns in the language.

13a. **Proper name and a determiner**

Ámà   wá   è   yɔ́   jùlà-kpà
NAME   DET   3SG go   learn-place
'That Ama went to school'

b. **Proper name and an adjective**

Ámà   sɩ̀̃   wá   brí   kàbìà   wá
NAME   short DET   beat   child   DET
'The short Ama beat the child'

c. **Proper name and numeral**

Kòfí   ánà   bì   wɔ̀   krí   kàwì   díá   wò
NAME   QUANT 3PL   be at ten   town   DEM   POST
'There are ten people by name Kofi in this town'

d. **Proper name and quantifier**

Ámà   ánà   bì   chɔ̀   kàwì   díá   wò
NAME   QUANT 3PL   QUANT town   DEM   POST
'There are many people called Ama in this town'

e. **Proper name as possessed NP**

ó   bí   Ámà   mù   kó   è   brí   mú
2SG.POSS   child   NAME   3SG   REL   3SG   beat   3SG
'Your child Ama is the one who beat him/her'

g. **Proper name as head of a relative clause**

é   kɛ́ɛ́   ŋɔ̀sré   kán   hɑ̃̀   Kòfí   [kó   è   bá   nfèè]
1SG   take   money   SC   give   NAME   REL   3SG   come   here
'I gave the money to Kofi, who came here'

h. **Place name as head of a relative clause**

Dòmpò   lànɔ̀   kpá   [kó   bì   máléé   Dòmpò]   è   wò   Brong Ahafo
Dompo   home   place   REL   3PL   speak   Dompo   3SG   be at   Brong Ahafo

kàwòlé   rɔ́
earth   POST

'Dompofie, where Dompo is spoken is in the Brong Ahafo Region'

3.5.1.1 Dompo personal or proper names

Very little is known about Dompo personal names. In a number of our consultation sessions, I asked the speakers about names in Dompo and their meanings. There were not many current names that were strictly Dompo names, according to them. It was very difficult to explain the meanings of the ones that were. Two names that stand out as Dompo names are *Wùráchè*, the name of the foremost ancestress, and *nàkpà* 'friend'. Dompos now take on Western names in addition to the traditional names. Western names are currently common names given to children and the middle aged in Dompofie. This naming pattern is different from the names borne by people from previous generations. Stahl (1989: 28) provides a list of Dompo names in the table below.

Male heads of family	Female heads of family
Hanyaw Gbini	*Wurache*
Kofi Kɔkɔ	*Ejiniŋge Twalɛ*
Shiembɔ Agba	*Pɛnimbɔ*
Pɛ Kwabena	*Yookɔ*
Kwame Ampoma	*Lelɛɛ Abena*
Kwadwo Fordjour	*Afua Fofie*
Shiembɔ Agba II[27]	*Akua Nyimimpe*
	Mabinu
	Kosua Adae
	Afua Fofie

Table 8. List of Dompo family heads, Adapted from Stahl & Anane (1989).

The Dompo names above depict traditional names which are based on the Akan names illustrated in (**Table 9**) above. The only name in the list that stands out as a title name is Shiembɔ Agba. Stahl's list, however, does not include Shiembɔ Agba II because it is the current title held by the current chief of Dompofie. Considering the female names, *Wùráchè* comes first because she is believed to be the foremost ancestress of the land. Her husband's name was *Séé Dàfà* and that of her daughter, Akosua Yeli (Stahl & Anane 1989). The name Akosua implies that the Dompos had had the system of day name tradition for a long time, since their history dates back to several hundreds of years ago.

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[27]I added this name to the list.

In my research on the language, I have heard three Dompo names that are currently being borne by three people of different age groups. *Nàkpà* 'friend' is used as a surname by one of my male consultants who is in his mid-forties. *Wùráchè* is the name of the last daughter of the chief of Dompofie who is in her teens. *Nyìnìmpé,* which the speakers have claimed means a prominent person, is the name of the three-year-old daughter of my youngest male consultant. It can thus be assumed that this traditional name was given to the child to influence her to emulate the qualities of the person she was named after and perhaps to still keep the Dompo traditional names.

3.5.1.2 Naming system in some parts of Ghana

Agyekum (2006: 209) defines personal names as "iconic representations of composite social variables that indexicalize and relate to the name and the person." Though the phenomenon of naming is considered a universal practice amongst societies and cultures, the system of naming, the ceremonies surrounding the naming, etc. vary. He further asserts about Akan personal names that "the knowledge about Akan names gives insight into Akan culture, philosophy, thought, environment, religion, language and culture". He further notes that African and Ghanaian names are quite different from those given in Western societies. He adds that "while children born in the Western societies will take on the last names of their fathers, thus making their names predictable, the names given to children in African societies are generally unpredictable and may depend on other factors such as the circumstances behind the birth".

Naming practices in Dompo are similar to those across Southern Ghana.[28] Among other types of Akan names, are birthday names which are described as the names given to children because of the day they were born on. The Akans refer to this name as *kradin* 'soul's name' because it is the soul that decides which day the child should be born on. (Agyekum 2006). Akpebu Ajah (2011: 8), citing Egblewogbe (1977) on Ewe names and Odotei (1989) on Ga names, notes that Ewe used to have two systems of weekdays presumably according to which they named children. These were based on farming and trade. It is presumed that both languages have done away with whatever naming system used to operate in their cultures and have now borrowed greatly the Akan day naming system. Below is a table showing the similarities in the day naming systems of Akan, Ewe and Ga, adapted from Agyekum (2006) for Akan names, Egblewogbe (1987), Odotei (1989) for Ewe and Ga names respectively. From the names in the table, one will notice that the only difference in these three languages has to do with sound changes.

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[28] Ghana is divided into two broad parts, the Northern and Southern parts, though there are different cultures found in the Southern part. The cultures in the Northern part, however, could be considered very much closely related. Apart from there being differences in the languages spoken in both parts, other salient differences include food, clothing, modes of worship and naming systems. The difference in the naming systems is so salient that one can easily identify a name as coming from the Northern part once it is mentioned.

Day name (English)	Day name (Akan)	Male Akan names	Female Akan names	Male Ewe names	Female Ewe names	Male Ga names	Female Ga names
Sunday	Kwasiada	Kwasi	Akosua	Kosi	Akosua/Esi	Kwashi	Akoshia
Monday	ɛdwoada	Kwadwo	Adwoa	Kojo	Adjo	Kodjo	Adjoa
Tuesday	ɛbenada	Kwabena	Abenaa	Komla	Abra	Kwabla	Abla
Wednesday	Wukuada	Kwaku	Akua	Korku	Aku	Kwaku	Akua
Thursday	Yawoada	Yao	Yaa	Yao	Yawa	Kwao	Aba
Friday	Efiada	Kofi	Afua	Kofi	Afua	Kofi	Afua
Saturday	Memeneda	Kwame	Ama	Kwame	Ama	Kwame	Ama

Table 9. Day names of the Akan, Ewe and Ga.

3.5.2 *Mass versus count nouns*

There is a distinction between mass and count nouns for some nouns in Dompo. Mass nouns refer to those objects that cannot be counted while count nouns, in contrast, refer to the objects that can be counted. Mass nouns are often in liquid states or states that cannot be quantified. Count nouns can be distinguished from mass nouns by a singular or plural prefix variation. In other words, count nouns have a singular and plural form while mass nouns only have a plural form. The following illustrations show this distinction.

14.   Count nouns show different prefixes for singular and plural objects.

Singular form	**meaning**	**Plural form**	**Meaning**
kà-dɛ̀ɛ̀	'firewood (sg)'	*n-dɛ̀ɛ̀*	'firewood (pl)'
kà-tnɔ̀	'mouse'	*n-tnɔ̀*	'mice'
kà-kɛ̀	'day'	*ŋ-kɛ̀*	'days'
kà-gbènè	'okra (sg)'	*ŋ-gbènè*	'okra (pl)'
kà-trè	'eggplant sg'	*n-trè*	'eggplant (pl)'
kà-chà	'cloth'	*n-chà*	'clothes'
kà-bɛ̀ɛ̃́	'fish'	*m-bɛ̃́ɛ̃́*	'fishes'
kà-bìà	'child'	*m-bìà*	'children'
kà-ntètè	'dog'	*n-tètè*	'dogs'

kà-tòpò	'spoon'	*n-tòpò*	'spoons'

In Dompo, the quantifiers *áná* and *tàmbà* are also used after nouns to indicate plurality. *áná* is mostly used after the plural count nouns to further indicate plurality as shown in example (15a). Both quantifiers can also be used together in the same sentence as illustrated in example (15b). In both examples if *áná* is omitted, there is no apparent meaning difference. *tàmbà* also collocates with mass nouns and abstract nouns such as respect, as shown in examples (15c and d). *áná* on the other hand, cannot collocate with non-countable or abstract nouns. Thus, if *áná* is used to replace *tàmbà* in example (c and d) the sentence will be ungrammatical.

15a. *sùkúú m-bìà   áná   wɔ̀   jùlà-kpà*
      school PL-child   QUANT be at   learn-place
      'The school children are in the school'

b.   *m-bìà   áná   tàmbà lɔ́*
      PL-child   QUANT QUANT ill
      'Most of the children are ill'

c.   *nsṹ   tàmbà wɔ̀   kàwòlé wá   wó*
      water   QUANT be at   ground DET   POST
      'There is so much water on the floor'

d.   *é   hɔ̀ɔ̀   nyìnè   wá   kán   jí   tàmbà*
      1SG   collect man   DET   SC   eat   QUANT
      'I have a lot of respect for the man'

For most count nouns in Dompo that do not have a plural prefix attached to them to indicate their status as count nouns, the quantifier *áná* is used after the noun to show plurality. Observe some of the examples below.

16.

Singular	meaning	**Plural**	**Meaning**
yí	'tree'	*yí áná*	'trees'
kòòrè	'rat'	*kòòrè áná*	'rats'
ŋnà pò	'teacher'	*ŋnà pò áná*	'teachers'
ká	'wife'	*ká áná*	'wives'
gbáŋá	'bicycle'	*gbáŋá áná*	'bicycles'
sèŋùnù	'tortoise'	*sèŋùnù áná*	'tortoises'
chèè	'woman'	*chèè áná*	'women'
kápwέ	'pot'	*kápwέ áná*	'pots'
púrí	'bag'	*púrí áná*	'bags'
kòsì	'fowl'	*kòsì áná*	'fowls'

The examples below indicate that mass nouns do not make a distinction between singular and plural. They have just one form which indicates its plural state.

17.

Word	**Plural**	**Meaning**
n-sṳ̀	*n-sṳ̀*	'water'
ŋ-klà	*ŋ-klà*	'blood'
n-sìnɛ́	*n-sìnɛ́*	'ashes'
ŋ-kpà	*ŋ-kpà*	'life'
ŋ-kṳ̀	*ŋ-kṳ̀*	'oil'
n-flɔ̀	*n-flɔ̀*	'salt'
m-p�ònà	*m-pɒ̀nà*	'dust'
n-fànà	*n-fànà*	'leaf'
ŋ-kpɛ̀chɛ̀ɛ́	*ŋ-kpɛ̀chɛ̀ɛ́*	'star'
á-fúú	*á-fúú*	'wind, air'

In the above words, we would notice that the *ka-* prefix, which is characteristic of some singular nouns in Dompo, cannot be applied here to obtain the singular versions of nouns in the above category. However, for the words *n-fànà* 'leaf' and *ŋ-kpɛ̀chɛ̀ɛ́* 'star' that are not in as liquid a state as the others, the numeral *kòólè* 'one' can be added after the word to show its singular state. This thus reads as *n-fànà kòólè* 'one leaf' and *ŋ-kpɛ̀chɛ̀ɛ́ kòólè* 'one star'

3.6   *Loan nouns*

There are some words that have been identified as possible borrowings from Akan and Nafaanra. Some of these words fit under the *n-* and *ŋ-* prefix class while most of them also fall under the prefix-less category of nouns. They are considered borrowings because there are no other words in Dompo used to describe them otherwise. It can be noticed that for most of the borrowed words, the difference between the words is tonal differences. While the tones on the Akan words are high, those on the words used in Dompo are marked with low tones. This may mean that the Akan or Nafaanra words have been adapted and been integrated into the phonology of Dompo. Consider the examples below.

18.

Loan word in Dompo	**meaning**	**Word in borrowing language**	**meaning**
nsṳ̀	'water'	*nsṳ́* (Akan)	'water'
nsã̀	'alcohol'	*nsã́* (Akan)	'alcohol'
ŋkṳ̀	'oil'	*ŋkṳ́* (Akan)	'pomade'

wúrá	'king, owner'	*wùrà* (Akan)	'king, owner'
drú	'medicine'	*dró* (Akan)	'medicine'
mì	'1SG.POSS'	*mí* (Akan)	'1SG.POSS'
nànsὲ	'spider'	*ánànsì* (Akan)	'spider'
bísá	'ask'	*bìsà* (Akan)	'ask'
làfà	'hundred'	*làfàà* (Nafaanra)	'hundred'

It must be noted that the meaning of *ŋkù* in Dompo is quite different from Akan. The word in Dompo refers to oil used for cooking while in Akan, it refers to pomade used for smearing on the skin. The Akan word for oil is *ŋgó,* which is not very different in form from the Dompo word for oil. For most of the borrowed words, it can be noticed that tonal changes account for the only difference between them. There is a vowel change of the last from 'o' in Akan to 'u' in Dompo in the Akan word *dró* 'medicine'. In the Dompo adaptation of the Akan word *ánànsì* 'spider', there is initial vowel deletion of 'a' and a vowel change from 'i' to 'ɛ'. This thus gives the output in Dompo as *nànsὲ*. Finally, while a long vowel occurs at the end of the Nafaanra word *làfàà* 'hundred', the vowel in Dompo is shortened to produce *làfà*.

3.7 Compounding

Compounding has been described as "a common and frequent process for enlarging the vocabulary of all languages" (Fromkin et al 2003: 95). It is asserted to be a universal phenomenon. Aikhenvald (2007: 24) argues that "compounding is found in all languages of any type, but is dominant in isolating languages". Bauer (2003: 40) also states that "nearly all languages have compounds".

 Compounding involves two free word forms that come together to form a new concept. Aikhenvald (2007: 24) posits that "compounding involves word-formation based on the combination of at least two potentially free forms, most frequently members of open lexical classes such as nouns or verbs". Katamba (1993: 54) also opines that "a compound word consists of at least two bases which are both words, or at any rate, root morphemes". Fromkin et al (2003: 93) assert that "two or more words may be joined to form new, compound words".

In Dompo, two nouns can be compounded. A noun can also be attached to a nominal suffix to form a compound. A nominal suffix attaches to nouns, verbs or adjectives to form a noun. Examples of nominal suffixes are illustrated in (§3.8.1, §3.8.2and §3.8.3).

3.7.1 Compounding of nouns

When the two individual words fall within a certain grammatical category, the compound word will also be in this category (Fromkin et al 2003: 93). Two noun roots in Dompo can combine to form a new noun that encompasses the semantic meanings of the individual nouns. This however contrasts with (Fromkin et al 2003) who assert that "the meanings of compounds is not always the sum of the meanings of its parts". Below are some examples of nominal compounds.

19.	*ŋù*	'head'	+	*káwé*	'calabash'	→	*ŋù káwé*	'skull'
	kámbrɔ́	'stomach'	+	*flá*	'rope'	→	*kámbrɔ́ flá*	'intestines'
	bùnflɔ́	'urine'	+	*tró*	'bottle'	→	*bùnflɔ̀ tró*	'bladder'
	plú	'navel'	+	*flá*	'rope'	→	*plù flá*	'umbilical cord'
	nànsὲ	'spider'	+	*kàchà*	'cloth'	→	*nànsὲ kàchà*	'spider's web'
	sèpè	'ear'	+	*bíní*	'faeces'	→	*sèpè bíní*	'ear wax'
	nyìsì	'eye'	+	*nsữ̀*	'water'	→	*nyìsì sữ́*	'tears'
	nyìnὲ	'male'	+	*nsữ̀*	'water'	→	*nyìnὲ nsữ̀*	'semen'
	nyópó	'breast'	+	*nsữ̀*	'water'	→	*nyópó nsữ̀*	'breast milk'
	ŋɔ́́nsé	'bee'	+	*nsữ̀*	'water'	→	*ŋɔ́́nsé nsữ̀*	'honey
	yí	'tree'	+	*nsữ̀*	'water'	→	*yí nsữ̀*	'sap'
	kágbɔ́nɔ́	'chest'	+	*wúú*	'bone'	→	*kágbɔ́nɔ́ wúú*	'breastbone'
	bàà	'shoulder'	+	*pé*	'hole'	→	*bàà pé*	'armpit'

From the above examples, we can see that perhaps the first five instances of compounding produce new concepts from the existing nouns that are combined. These concepts are concrete objects and are metaphorical extensions. These can also be seen as mapping of body parts on corresponding parts of an object. Heine (2011) as cited in Kraska-Szlenk (2014: 16) notes that "in Mangbetu (Central-Sudanic, Nilo Saharan) in the conceptualization of house, the word for eye transfers to window, mouth to door and head to top". Similarly, many languages use the human body as a locus for conceptualizing concrete objects (cf. Gaby 2006; Sharifian 2011).

The relatedness of the nouns in Dompo outlined above might be a bit difficult to grasp if the words were analyzed individually. Thus, one could pose the question, what has calabash got to do with head and vice versa? Thinking deeper, we might come up with an answer that explains the fact that the shape of the calabash falls in line with the shape of the skull, hence their relatedness. Kraska-Szlenk (2014: 16) notes that "one-to one body part term transfers in various languages often include the mapping of lexemes such as 'head' or 'eye' on various round objects". The same

notion of analyses applies to the other four nouns where we might probably wonder about the link between rope and stomach, bottle and urine, rope and naval and cloth and spider. This link can be further deciphered when we think more deeply into the fact that, for instance, the bottle serves as the receptacle of things and hence the storage of urine in the bladder.

For the rest of the compounds, however, there is that correspondence between the compounds which makes it easier to decipher. It might not be too difficult relating water and eyes and knowing that the natural result is tears. The same can be said about the breast and water, bringing out a natural understanding of breast milk. It is also interesting to note that the nouns in most of the compounds are made up of body part nouns.

There are few tonal changes as the two nouns get combined. The only changes occur in *plù flá* 'umbilical cord' where there is a tonal change from H in the individual word to L when it is compounded. Also, in the compound *nyìsì sǘ* 'tears', the initial /n/ of water gets deleted as the two noun forms are combined. This sound is, however, maintained in all the other compounds the noun is found in. There is also a tonal change on *sǘ* from an initial L tone to a H tone. Similarly, in the compound *yí nsǘ* 'sap' there is a tonal change on the second noun from a L to a H tone in the compounded form. Other tonal variations in compound words are discussed in (§2. 7.)

3.7.2 *Noun and adjective compounding*

Another kind of compounding in Dompo is where a noun combines with a descriptive adjective to produce a nominal. The following examples illustrate this.

20.	*shíá*	'person'	+	*péprέ*	'red'	→	*shìà pèprέ*	'white person'
	ŋɔ̀sré	'money'	+	*fúflú*	'white'	→	*ŋɔ̀sré fùflú*	'cowrie'
	ŋɔ̀sré	'money'	+	*péprέ*	'red'	→	*ŋɔ̀sré pèprέ*	'gold'
	kpèchὲέ	'cloud'	+	*fúflú*	'white'	→	*kpèchὲέ fùflú*	'sky'
	kàbìà	'child'	+	*pɔ́prɔ́*	'new'	→	*kàbìà pɔ̀prɔ́*	'baby'

In the above examples, we see nouns occurring first, followed by the descriptive adjective. The two words produce a nominal, which can be classified as a descriptive nominal. A pattern can be noticed with regard to the tone. The tones on the adjectives are H H. However, when ithe adjectives combine with the nouns, the tones on the adjectives change to become L H. The reason for the tonal changes have not been identified.

3.7.3 Noun and 'wúrá' compounding

In Dompo, compounds can also be formed by attaching the word *wúrá* 'owner' after a noun, to give the general meaning of the owner or possessor of that noun. The tones on the compounds also remain the same without any tonal influence. Observe this in the following examples.

21. *bù* 'room' + *wúrá* 'owner' → *bù wúrá* 'host'

    ŋɔ̀sré 'money' + *wúrá* 'owner' → *ŋɔ̀sré wúrá* 'rich man'

    gàgɔ̀ 'hunch' + *wúrá* 'owner' → *gàgɔ̀ wúrá* 'hunch back'

    kágbʊ́nɔ́ 'chest' + *wúrá* 'owner' → *kágbʊ́nɔ́ wúrá* 'courageous'

    nyìnɛ̀ 'man' + *wúrá* 'owner' → *nyìnɛ̀ wúrá* 'namesake'

3.8 Nominalization

Nominalization refers to the process whereby something can be turned into a noun or the process of allowing a verb or an adjective to operate as a noun (Comrie & Thompson 1985; Payne 1997). The main classes of words that are nominalized in Dompo are verbs, and to some extent adjectives. The most common combinations of classes present in the process are verb-noun, and noun-adjective. The process involves the derivation of a new word. Nominalization is achieved through the process of compounding or affixing. The three main types of nominalization present in the language are agentive, instrument and location nominalization. The following sections further discuss these.

3.8.1 Agentive nominalization [V + -pó]

Agentive nominalization derives a noun from the combination of a verb and a derivational suffix -*po,* which serves as the agent of the verb. This combination creates nominals that relate to professions. Examples are as follows.

22. *dɔ́ɔ́* 'weed' + *pó* 'agent' → *dɔ́ɔ́pó* 'farmer'

    pán 'hunt' + *pó* 'agent' → *pámpó* 'hunter'

    prɔ́ 'mold' + *pó* 'agent → *prɔ́pó* 'potter'

    ló 'weave' + *pó* 'agent' → *lópó* 'weaver'

    fɛ́ 'sell' + *pó* 'agent' → *fɛ́pó* 'trader'

    kʊ́lé 'beg' + *pó* 'agent' → *kʊ́lépó* 'beggar'

    píá 'catch' + *pó* 'agent' → *píápó* 'soldier/police'

yùyúrí	'steal' +		*pó*	'agent' →	*yùyúrípò*[29]	'thief'
cháá	'dance' +		*pó*	'agent' →	*cháápó*	'fetish priest'
ŋnà	'show' +		*pó*	'agent' →	*ŋnàpò*	'teacher'
mbɛ̀ɛ̌	'fishes' + *líá* 'catch' +	*pó*	'agent' →	*mbɛ̀ɛ̌ líápó*	'fisherman'
blɑ̌	'meat' + *fɛ́* 'sell' +	*pó*	'agent' →	*blɑ̌ fɛ́pó*	'butcher'

In the above examples except the last two, the action verbs occur first, followed by the agentive marker *pó*. The last two examples, however, begin with the object that the agent directly acts upon. This thus gives us a noun-verb-noun combination.

A tonal change can be observed in the words *yùyúrípò* 'thief' and *ŋnàpò* 'teacher'. There is a change in tone on the agentive marker *pó* from a H to a L tone when it is attached to the verb.

3.8.2   Instrument nominalization   [V+ sɔ́]

When a noun, formed from a verb, serves as the instrument that is used to carry out an action, the process is referred to as instrument nominalization. In Dompo, the action verb occurs first followed by the noun *sɔ́* 'thing'. The resulting noun from the combination refers to the object used to perform an action. Observe all these in the examples below.

23.	*kwìì*	'cut' +	*sɔ́*	'thing' →	*kwììsɔ̀*	'knife'
	núù	'drink' +	*sɔ́*	'thing' →	*nùùsɔ̀*	'cup'
	jrɛ́	'bath' +	*sɔ́*	'thing' →	*jrɛ̀sɔ̀*	'bucket'
	tòò	'throw' +	*sɔ́*	'thing' →	*tòòsɔ̀*	'gun'
	dèhè	'sleep' +	*sɔ́*	'thing' →	*dèhèsɔ́*	'bed'
	jí	'eat' +	*sɔ́*	'thing' →	*jísɔ́*	'food'
	kɛ̀ɛ̀	'write' +	*sɔ́*	'thing' →	*kɛ̀ɛ̀sɔ̀*	'pen'
	ŋmɛ̀ɛ̀	'hit' +	*sɔ́*	'thing' →	*ŋmɛ̀ɛ̀sɔ̀*	'ball'
	díí	'climb' +	*sɔ́*	'thing' →	*dììsɔ̀*	'ladder'
	líá	'catch' +	*sɔ́*	'thing' →	*lìàsɔ̀*	'fishhook'
	bùù	'cover' +	*sɔ̀*	'thing' →	*bùùsɔ̀*	'napkin'

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[29] I have listened severally to the recordings of all these words in the input and the output forms. I can clearly hear the tonal distinction between the *pò* in the output form for thief and *pó* in all the other output forms. At this stage, no explanation can be given for this variation as well as the variations in all the other examples. Further studies on the tone system might reveal possible explanations.

There are some tonal variations worth observing. In all the words, except *dèhè sɔ́* 'bed' and *jí sɔ́* 'food', there are tonal changes on *sɔ́* from a H tone in the input forms to a L tone in the output forms. Similarly, there are tonal changes on the verbs *jrɛ́* 'bath', *díí* 'climb', *líá* 'catch' from a H tone to a L tone in the output form.

3.8.3 Location nominalization   [V + kpà]

Location nominalization refers to the place an activity described by the verb takes place. In Dompo, the noun *kpà* 'place' follows the action verb and the two forms result in the production of a location for carrying out the action described by the verb. The following examples show this.

24.	*fɛ́*	'sell' +		*kpà*	'place' →	*fɛ̀ɛ̀kpà*		'market'
	júlá	'learn' +		*kpà*	'place' →	*jùlàkpà*		'school'
	jrɛ́	'bath' +		*kpà*	'place' →	*jrɛ̀kpà*		'bathhouse'
	kplá	'bury' +		*kpà*	'place' →	*kplàkpà*		'cemetery'
	Bwàrè	'God'	+ *kúlé* 'beg' +	*kpà*	'place' →	*Bwàrè kùlèkpà*	'church'
	jísɔ́	'food'	+ *bɔ́* 'make' +	*kpà*	'place' →	*ꞌjìsɔ̀ bɔ̀kpà*		'kitchen'

In the examples above, the verb combines with the noun to produce the location nominal. In the last two examples, however, we have the object for which reason the location was created coming first. This is followed by the verb and finally the place where the activity is taking place. In effect, there is a verb phrase and an object in the last two examples. Note that there are tonal changes as the verbs, which are marked with H tones come into contact with the L tone noun kpà. The L tone on kpà influences the H tones on the verbs to change to also become L tones.

3.9   Pronouns

This section details the pronoun system of Dompo. The language has an elaborate pronoun system with distinctions between 1ˢᵗ, 2ⁿᵈ, 3ʳᵈ person subject and object pronouns. There is also an independent pronoun form in the language. Pronouns occur independently before verb. The independent forms are single free forms that are used to respond to questions or to create emphasis.

Person	Subject	Object	Indep. Pronoun	Possessive Pronoun	Reflexive Pronoun
1SG	é	mí	míà	mí	mí yíró
2SG	ó	wó	fṹá	ó	ó yíró
3SG	è	mú	mùà	mù	mù yìrò
1PL	á	ání	ànì	ànì / àníá	á / àní yíró
2PL	bì	bán	-	bán	bán yíró
3PL	bì	bán	-	bán	bán yíró

Table 10. Dompo Pronoun System

The following discussions centre on how these pronouns are employed by speakers in distinguishing between the various pronoun forms in their interactions.

3.9.1 Subject pronouns

Dompo has a subject pronominal system that makes a distinction between the 1st, 2nd and 3rd singular and plural forms. This is shown below.

25. **Person**   **Singular**   **Plural**

    1st   *é*   'I'   *á*   'we'

    2nd   *ó*   'you'   *bì*   'you'

    3rd   *è*   'he/she/it'   *bì*   'they'

With regard to the 3rd person singular pronoun, while some languages might make a distinction between the animate and inanimate pronoun forms, Dompo does not make an animacy distinction. The pronoun *è* is used to mark both animate and inanimate objects. Tone marks the difference between the subject pronouns for the 1st and 3rd person singular. While the 1st person singular is said with a H tone, the 3rd person singular is said with a L tone. Observe these in the following examples below.

26a. *é   dèhè*   b.   *è   déhè*
    1SG   sleep   3SG   sleep
    'I sleep'   'he/she/it sleeps

27a. *ó   yɔ́*   b.   *á   jí*
    2SG   go   2SG   eat
    'You go'   'We eat'

28a. *bì   bá*   c.   *bì   chínà*
     2PL   come   3PL   sit
     'You (2pl) come'   'They (3pl) sit'

Examples (26a and b) show a tonal distinction between the 1st and 3rd person singular pronouns. The rest of the examples illustrate how the 2nd and 3rd person singular and plural pronouns are used before verbs.

3.9.1.1 Concordant subject marking

Concordant subject marking occurs in a serial verb construction when all verbs share the same subject. The subject may be marked just once, or concordially on each verb in the SVC (Dixon 2006: 340). (Aikhenvald 2006: 182) also posits that in concordant subject marking, "both components of the serial verb take the same cross-referencing marker". I use the term concordant subject marking in Dompo to refer to instances where the pronoun is present in a sentence, even when there is an overt noun that identifies the pronoun referent. Thus, there is agreement between the subject noun and the pronoun that co-references it. The 3rd person singular and plural subject pronouns are the pronouns that seem to occur most before the verb stem to co-reference a full noun that is already occupying the subject position. The 1st person plural subject pronoun also co-references the subject pronouns 1st and 2nd singular subjects as can be seen in example (29e). These pronoun subject markers are, however, optional. The following are some examples.

29a. *nyìnè   wá   è   brí   kabìà   wá*
     man   DET   3SG   beat   child   DET
     'The man beat the child'

b. *Ámá   è   chínà   dèhè-sɔ́   wá   wó*
   name   3SG   sit   sleep-thing   DET   POST
   'Ama sat on the bed'

c. *nùù-sɔ̀   wá   è   mbúlà   kán   fó   mù   kánú*
   drink-thing DET   3SG   full   SC   reach   3SG.POSS   mouth
   'The cup is full to the brim'

d. *m-bíà   áná   bì   yɔ́   jùlà-kpà*
   PL-child   QUANT   3PL   go   learn-place
   'The children go to school'

e. *kè   míà   nè   ó   nyɔ̌   àní-n   yɔ́   fɛ̂ɛ̀-kpà*
   tomorrow   1SG.IND CONJ   2SG   two   1PL-FUT   go   sell-place
   'Tomorrow, you and I will go to the market'

In examples (29a-d) above, we see that even though the noun phrases *nyìnè wá* 'the man', Ámá, *nùù sɔ̀ wá* 'the cup' and *mbíà áná* 'the children' have already been stated as the subjects of the various sentences, the subject pronouns still occur before the verbs, co-referencing the main noun phrases.

It must be noted that the 3rd person singular subject is used to co-reference inanimate objects in their plural form. The plural form *bì* in Dompo should be used to mark the plural forms of both animate and inanimate objects. *Bì* is, however, used to mark only animate objects. The singular subject pronoun thus agrees with plural inanimate objects, as is exemplified in examples (30a and b) below.

30a.   *ó*   *wùrà-sɔ̀*   *tàmbà*   *è*   *wɔ̀*   *dèhè-sɔ́*   *wó*
      2SG   wear-thing   QUANT   3SG   be at   sleep-thing   POST
      'Your shirts are on the bed'

b.   *yìsòòrè* *tàmbà*   *è*   *wɔ̀*   *yí*   *wá*   *wó*
      mango   QUANT   3SG   be at   tree   DET   POST
      'There are a lot of mangoes on the tree'

c.   *chèè*   *tàmbà*   *bì*   *wɔ̀*   *bù*   *rɔ́*
      woman   QUANT   3PL   be at   room   POST
      'There are a lot of women in the room'

In example (30a and b) above, the singular subject marker *è* is used to coreference the inanimate plural objects *wùràsɔ̀ tàmbà* 'shirts' and *yìsòòrè tàmbà* 'mangoes'. In example (30c), however, the plural marker *bì* is used to mark the animate plural subject *chèè tàmbà* 'women'.

3.9.2   *Object pronouns*

Object pronoun forms occur for all three persons in Dompo. These have plural forms as well. The following are the object pronouns in Dompo.

31.   **Person**   **Singular**   **Plural**

     1st   *mí*   'me'   *ání*   'us'

     2nd   *wó*   'you'   *bán*   'you'

     3rd   *mú*   'him/her/it   *bán*   'them'

The following are some examples that illustrate these object pronouns in sentences.

32a.   *bì*   *brî*   *mí*   b.   *é*   *trè*   *wó*
      2PL   beat   1SG   1SG   call   2SG
      'You (pl) beat me'   'I call you'

c.   *á*   *wù*   *mù*   c.   *bì*   *tré*   *ání*
      1PL   see   3SG   3PL   call   1PL
      'We see him/her/it'   'They called us'

d.   *ó*   *brì*   *bám*   e.   *bàm*   *brî*   *wó*
      2SG   beat   3PL   3PL.OBJ.FUT   beat   2SG.OBJ
      'You (2sg) beat them'   'They will beat you'

f.	*mím*	*brí*	*wó*	g.	*àním*	*brì*	*mú*
	1SG.OBJ.FUT	beat	2SG.OBJ		1PL.OBJ.FUT	beat	3SG
	'I will beat you'				'We will beat him/her'		

There is no animacy distinction for the 3rd person singular object pronoun. We would observe that the same form *bán* is used to represent both the 2nd and 3rd person plural objects. While the underlying form of this pronoun ends with /n/, it has been observed that when the /n/ occurs before a bilabial sound, it is pronounced as /m/. A point to make here is that in cases where this phenomenon happens, the object pronoun, instead of the subject pronoun occupies the subject position. In this case, the future marker, which has the underlying form -*n,* also merges with the /n/ of the object pronoun. This /n/ gets influenced by the following bilabial sound to change its feature to also become bilabial. This is exemplified in example (32e). On the other hand, when the pronoun *bán* ends a sentence, as can be seen in example (32d), the /n/ becomes bilabial. How this change occurs has not been established yet. It must also be noted that the future marker is also used with two other object pronouns *mí* 'me' and *ání* 'us'. Thus, these two pronouns are also used as subjects in the future. This can be observed in examples (f and g).

3.9.3   *Independent pronouns*

In addition to the regular singular and plural personal pronouns, Dompo also has independent personal pronouns. Independent person forms, according to Sierwierska (2004: 16-17) are free, full and separate forms that may take primary stress. Furthermore, she asserts that these independent forms are used as single responses to questions and are used to mark emphasis in utterances. In contrast, she notes that dependent forms are bound, reduced, can typically not be stressed and are morphologically reliant on another element in an utterance. Some of these features are typical of the personal pronoun forms in Dompo. The independent forms, *míà* 'I', *fừá* 'you' and *mừà* 'he/she/it', can be used as single elements in response to questions. They are also used to create emphasis in utterances. The independent forms do not have plural forms. Plural participants are emphasized using the plural forms of the object pronouns. Futhermore, independent pronouns are not only used for emphasis purposes. They can also serve as object pronouns of adpositions.

The dependent forms, on the other hand, are the forms *é* 'I', *ó* 'you' and *è* 'he/she/it'. They are, however, not bound to verbs in Dompo because markers such as the negation marker and the progressive marker can occur between the pronoun and the verb. Observe the independent pronouns below.

33. **Person**   **Independent form**

1st   *míà*   'I'

2nd   *fɥ̀á*   'you'

3rd   *mùà*   'he/she/it'

Examples (34a-c) illustrate how the independent pronouns are manifested in some sentences. Examples (35a-c) also demonstrate the use of object plural pronouns as plural participants in sentences where the independent forms are subjects of the sentences. Lastly, examples (35a-c) indicate the use of the independent pronouns as objects of adpositions.

34a.   *míà?*   *míà*   *kó*   *míà*   *téé*   *míà*
       1SG.IND   1SG.IND   REL   1SG.IND   build   1SG.IND

       kábò   *nɛ̀*   *mù*   *bá*   *chìnà* *míà*   *kɛ̀lɔ́.*   *mù*
       place   CONJ   3SG   come   stay   1SG.IND   beside.   3SG

       brábrà   *míà?*
       co-equal   1SG.IND

       'Me? I who have built my place and he has come to stay beside me? Am I his co-equal?'(doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_Some folktales and idioms #11).

b.   *fɥ̀á*   *Kòfí*   *ó*   *yúrí*   *ŋɔ̀sré* *wá*
       2SG.IND   NAME   2SG   steal   money   DET
       'You! Kofi, you stole the money'

c.   *mùà*   *wùlè*   *kó*   *è*   *bá*
       3SG.IND   alone   REL   3SG   come
       'He/she came alone"

35a.   *míà*   *nɛ̀*   *bán*   *ànín*   *yɔ́*   *ndɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ́*
       1SG.IND   CONJ   2PL   1PL.FUT   go   farm
       'Me and you (2pl) will go to the farm'

b.   *fɥ̀á*   *nɛ̀*   *bám*   *bín*   *yɔ́*   *ndɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ́*
       2SG.IND   CONJ   3PL   3PL.FUT   go   farm
       'You and they will go to the farm'

c.   *mùà*   *nɛ̀*   *bám*   *bín*   *yɔ́*   *ndɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ́*
       3SG.IND   CONJ   3PL   3PL.FUT   go   farm
       'He/she and they will go to the farm'

36a.   *è*   *kɛ̀ɛ̀*   *mú*   *kán*   *hɑ̀*   *míà*
       3SG   take   3SG   SC   give   1SG.IND
       'He/she gave it to me'

b.   *è*   *kɛ̀ɛ̀*   *mú*   *kán*   *hɑ̀*   *fɥ̀á*
       3SG   take   3SG   SC   give   2SG.IND
       'He/she gave it to you'

c. *é   kɛ̀ɛ̀   mú   kán   hɑ̀   mùà*
    1sg   take   3SG   SC   give   3SG.IND
    'I gave it to him/her'

From the examples above, the independent pronoun forms can be used to show emphasis in speech directed either towards the speaker or the listener. Example (34a) is an extract from one of the folktales told in the language. The story is of the chameleon and the elephant. The former built its place of abode and afterwards the elephant came to live near it. The chameleon, however, noticed that the elephant was trying to intimidate it with its size so the chameleon would relocate. The above statement was made by the chameleon with clear emphasis placed on itself, indicating that it has the right to stay where it is because it was the first occupant of the area, and thus the area belongs to it. It must be noted that some aspects of the sentence might be ungrammatical if the independent forms were replaced with the 1st person subject pronoun *é*. *é* can only replace the independent form that occurs before the verb *téé* 'build'. The other independent forms can be replaced with the possessive pronoun *mí*.

Similarly, in example (34b), the speaker is using the independent 2nd person subject pronoun in directly addressing Kòfí, whom he believes stole the money. Furthermore, it can be noticed that even in the presence of an independent pronoun form, the dependent pronoun markers are also present. This can be seen in examples (34b and c) where *fɯ̀á* and *ó* and *mùà* and *è* are used together respectively. They both co-reference the subject *Kòfí* in example (34b) and a covert subject in example (34c).

Examples (35a-c) show the independent pronouns *míà* '1sg', *fɯ̀á* '2sg' and *mùà* '3sg' as subjects of the sentences. To emphasize plural participants, the object plural forms are employed. Finally, examples (36a-c) demonstrate the use of the independent pronouns used as objects of the adpositional constructions. The independent pronouns serve as the indirect objects of the constructions.

3.9.4 *Possessive Pronouns*

The structure of the possessive pronouns in Dompo is the same as the object pronouns, except for the 2nd person singular, where there is a distinction between *wó* 'you' and the possessive *ó* 'yours'. The possessive pronoun *ó,* however, patterns with the subject pronoun *ó* in the 2nd person singular form. The plural object pronouns are also used to mark possession. The 1st person plural marker alternatively has an /a/ at the end of its form. Consider the possessive pronouns below.

37. **Person**   **Singular**   **Plural**

    1st   *mí*   'mine'   *ání /ànìà*   'ours'

    2nd   *ó*   'your'   *bán*   'yours'

    3rd   *mú*   'his/hers/its'   *bán*   'theirs'

In some possessive constructions, the possessive pronoun precedes the main noun. In cases where there is the presence of a proper name, this comes first, followed by the pronoun which serves as its antecedent and then the object that is being possessed. The examples below depict instances of adnominal possession. The following examples illustrate this.

38a.   *mí*   *kájá*   b.   *mí*   *yíró*
        1SG.POSS   chair   1SG.POSS   body
        'My chair'   'My body'

c.   *Ámá*   *hàlé*   d.   *nyìnè* *kó*   *gbáŋá*
        name   arm   man   INDEF bicycle
        'Ama's arm'   'A man's bicycle'

e.   *Ámá*   *mù*   *hàlé*
        name   3SG.POSS   arm
        'Ama's arm'

In examples (38a and b) above, we observe the possessive pronoun marker *mí* occurring before the object nouns *kájá* 'chair' and *yíró* 'body' respectively. We can also notice that the unadvanced high front vowel /i/ is used in example (38a) while the advanced high front vowel /i/ is used in example (38b). No clear environment has been established as a reason for the change in the vowel.

There can also be a possessive construction where the pronoun is absent. This can be seen in example (38c and d) where the only components of the possessive constructions are the possessors, *Ámá* and *nyìnè kó* and the possessums *hàlé* and *gbáŋá*. On the other hand, the possessive pronoun *mù* is present in example (38e) where it occurs between the possessor *Ámá* and the possessum *hàlé* and co-references the former.

In other possessive constructions in Dompo, the possessum is expressed first, followed by the pronoun possessor and then the copula and finally the focus marker. Observe the following examples where all the pronouns can occur in possessive constructions and occur between the noun and the copula. These examples also show predicative possession.

39a.   *wùlò* *wá*   *mí*   *yé*   *nà*
      book   DET   1SG.POSS   COP   FOC
      'The book is mine'

b.   *kòsì* *wá*   *ó*   *yé*   *nà*
      fowl   DET   2SG.POSS   COP   FOC
      'The fowl is yours'

c. *tró wá mù yέ nà*
    bottle DET 3SG.POSS COP FOC
    'The bottle is his/hers'

d. *lèpέ wá ànì yέ nà*
    plate DET 1PL.POSS COP FOC
    'The plate is ours'

e. *jí-sɔ́ wá bán yέ nà*
    book DET 3PL.POSS COP FOC
    'The book is yours/ theirs'

Lastly, the independent pronoun forms in Dompo can be used to mark possession. They occur before the nouns they possess. This is shown in the examples below.

40a. *míà kàchà*
     1SG.IND.POSS cloth
     'My cloth'

b. *fɨ̀á lándɔ̀*
    2SG.IND.POSS house
    'Your house'

c. *kàntὲtὲ wá mùà dú wá prὲ*
    dog DET 3SG.IND.POSS tail DET red
    'The dog's tail is red'

3.9.5 Reflexive Pronouns

Yìrò 'body' is used to form the reflexive in Dompo. It follows the possessive pronoun in a reflexive construction. The possessive pronouns operate also as reflexive pronouns that refer back to the subject pronouns. The following examples illustrate this.

41a. *é léé mí yíró*
     1SG like 1SG.POSS.REFL body
     'I like myself'

b. *ó léé ó yíró*
    2SG like 2SG.POSS.REFL body
    'You like yourself'

c. *è dɨ́ŋ mù yìrò*
    3SG bite 3SG.POSS.REFL body
    'He/she/it bites him/her/itself'

d. *á brì àní yíró*
    1PL beat 1PL.POSS.REFL body
    'We beat ourselves'

e. *bì dɨ́ŋ bán / bí yíró*
    3PL bite 3PL.POSS.REFL body
    'You/they bite yourselves/themselves'

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In all the examples except example (41c), we will notice that there is a change in tone on *yìrò*. While it is said with H tones in all the other examples, it is said with low tones in this instance. This is because of the influence of the L tone on the 3ʳᵈ person singular possessive pronoun *mù* which influences *yìrò* to also be said with L tones.

3.10   Noun Phrase

The elements in the simple noun phrase include the head noun, which may be a common noun, a pronoun or a proper name. The noun is the only obligatory part in the noun phrase. Other elements which can occur in the noun phrase after the common noun include the qualifier, which is usually an adjective. This is followed by the quantifier which is an adjective denoting quantity or a numeral. The determiner or demonstrative then follows. The relative clause may occur next. Relative clauses are discussed in detail in (§8.2.1). The structure of the Noun Phrase in Dompo is represented in the schema below.

42.   N (common noun/Pro/PN)   ADJ   NUM   DET/DEM   REL

Consider the examples below that contain most of the optional elements in the noun phrase schema above.

43.   *wùrà-sɔ̀*   *pépré*   *gbɔ̀ɔ̀*   *wá*
       wear-thing   red   big   DET
       'The big red coat'

44.   *ŋmɛ̀ɛ̀-sɔ̀*   *pɔ́prɔ́*   *sɔ̀nɔ̀*   *wá*
       kick-thing   new   seven   DET
       'The seven new balls'

Nouns in Dompo serve as both objects and subjects of clauses, serving as complements of possessive and copula clauses. The grammatical function of subjects and objects in a noun phrase is determined by the position they occupy in the phrase. Fetzer (2012: 116) describes this when she argues that "grammatical constructions are not assigned grammatical functions. Rather, the positioning of grammatical constructions within a hierarchically structured sequence assigns it a grammatical function".

45.   **Subject of a clause**

a.   *chèè*   *wá*   *è*   *brí*
      woman   DET   3SG   black
      'The woman is dirty'

b.   *nsù̀*   *wá*   *wìsì*
      water   DET   cold
      'The water is cold'

46.   **Object of a clause**

a.   *é   wù   nyìnὲ   wá*
        1SG   see   man   DET
        'I saw the man'

b.   *Kofi   brì   kàbìà   wá*
        name   beat   child   DET
        'Kofi beat the child'

In the examples above, the nouns *chὲὲ wá* 'woman' and *nsū̀ wá* 'the water' serve as the subjects of the clauses in examples (45a and b) because they occur before the adjectives *brí* 'black' and *wìsì* 'cold'. Conversely, the nouns *nyìnὲ wá* 'man' and *kàbìà wá* 'the child' function as the objects of the clauses in examples (46a and b) because they occur after the verbs, *wù* 'see' and *brì* 'beat'. In Dompo, noun phrases can also be complements of possessive and copula clauses. Thus, in example (47a) below, *ŋɔ̀sré* 'money' is the complement of the possessive clause, while *ŋnà pò* 'teacher' is the complement of the copula clause in (47b).

47.   **Possessive complement**

a.   *Ámá   wɔ̀   ŋɔ̀sré*
        NAME   be at   money
        'Ama has money'

        Copula complement

b.   *Kòfí   lè   ŋnà   pò*
        NAME   be   show   person
        'Kofi is a teacher'

Finally, nouns may serve as the elements that can be focused and also topicalized in Dompo. In the question and answer pair in example (48), observe that the nouns *yìsòòrè* 'rice' and Kòfí in examples (b and d) are the focused NPs of the clauses. Also, the nouns *nyìnὲ wá* 'the man' and *jí-sɔ́* 'food' in examples (e and g) serve as the topicalized NPs of the clauses. *nyìnὲ wá* serves as the topic the clause revolves around and is fronted to indicate this. Similarly, example (g), which is a response to the statement made in (f) fronts the noun phrase *jí-sɔ́ díá* which is the topic of the clause. Topic and focus are discussed further in (§5.6.1 and §5.6.2).

48.   **Focused NP**

Ques: *nɔ́ɔ̀ ó fɛ́?*   '*what do you sell*'?

b.   *yìsòòrè mù   nὲ   é   fɛ́*
        rice   3SG   FOC   1SG   sell
        'RICE (it) is what I sell'

c.   Ques: *mnɛ́ kó è yɔ́ landɔ̀?*   '*Who went home*?'

d.

Kòfĭ	*kó*	*è*	*yɔ́*	*landɔ̀*
NAME	FOC	3SG	go	home

'KOFI is (the one who) went home'

Topicalized NP

e.

nyìnè	*wá*	*rɛ́*	*nɔ̀ɔ̀*	*èn*	*tín*	*bɔ̀?*
man	DET	TOP	what	3SG	POSS	do

'As for that man, what can he do?'

f.

é	*léé*	*n-ì-n*	*tɔ́*	*jí-sɔ́*	*díá*
1SG	want	CONJ-1SG-FUT	buy	eat-thing	DEM

'I want to buy this food'

g.

jí-sɔ́	*díá*	*rɛ́*	*è*	*jíjè*
eat-thing	DEM	TOP	3SG	spoil

'As for this food, it is spoilt'

3.10.1 Ways of coordinating noun phrases

There are three ways of coordinating two or more noun phrases in Dompo. Noun phrases can be conjoined, alternated and a possessor and possessed noun can be juxtaposed. Conjoined noun phrases link two noun phrases. Alternate noun phrases express options, while possessive noun phrases express possession. These are further discussed in the sections that follow.

3.10.1.1   Conjoined noun phrases

The conjunction *nè* 'and' is used to link two noun phrases in Dompo. The conjunction is further used to indicate the addition of elements in the phrase. The following exemplify this.

49a.

Kòfĭ	*nè*	*Ámà*
Name	CONJ	name

'Kofi and Ama'

b.

[míà	*nè*	*kàbìà*	*wá*	*nè*	*mù*	*trò]*	*á*	*bà*	*nfèè*
1SG.IND	CONJ	child	DET	CONJ	3SG	father	1PL	come	here

'Me, the child and his father came here'

In the above examples the noun phrases are conjoined by the conjunction *nè*. In example (49a), the individual proper names Kòfĭ and Ámà are linked by *nè*. Also, in example (49b), the independent pronoun *míà*, the noun phrase *kàbìà wá,* and the possessive noun phrase *mù trò* are linked together in the subject position before the verb. It should be noted that *nè* can also link two adjectives or adjectival phrases. It cannot, however, link two verbs or verbal phrases. The serial connector *kán* is instead used to perform these functions. See (§8.3.2) for further discussions.

3.10.1.2   *Alternate noun phrases*

Noun phrases in Dompo can be alternated by employing the markers *nɔ́ɔ́* or *nɔ́ɔ́ chénúú*[30] to express options or possibilities available during an interlocution. The expression *ánúú* has also been used to convey the same meaning. These markers link the noun phrases. Consider the following examples.

50a. *Ámá   nɔ́ɔ́/ nɔ́ɔ́ chénú Kòfí   fró   káchà   wá*
      NAME   or   NAME   wash   cloth   DET
      'Ama or Kofi washed the cloth'

b.   *[jí-sɔ́   ánúú   nsɨ̀]   ó   léé*
       eat-thing   or   water   2SG   like
       'Do you like food or water?'

The noun phrases Ámá and Kòfí are linked by the alternate expression marker *nɔ́ɔ́/ nɔ́ɔ́ chénú* in example (50a). Similarly, in example (50b), *ánúú*, the other expression also conveying the meaning of alternation, is employed to offer the option of food or water to the listener. The alternate markers can be used to link two adjectives or adjectival phrases as well as two verbs or verb phrases. This is discussed in (§8.3.3).

3.10.1.3   *Possessive noun phrases*

Nominal possessives can be formed in Dompo by juxtaposing the possessor and the possessed noun phrases. Possessives in relation to pronouns have also been discussed in (§3.9.4). Observe the examples of possessive noun phrases below.

51a. *Ámá   kló*   b.   *Kòfí   hàlé*
      NAME   car   NAME   arm
      'Ama's car'   'Ama's arm'

c.   *nyìnɛ̀   kó   wùlò*   d.   *chèè   wá   kwíì-sɔ̀*
      man   INDEF book   woman DET   cut-thing
      'A man's book'   'The woman's knife'

In the examples above, we notice that the possessor noun phrases Ámá, Kòfí, *nyìnɛ̀ kó* and *chèè wá,* which are also the head nouns, precede the possessed noun phrases *kló*, *hàlé, wùlò* and *kwíìsɔ̀*. The possessive noun phrase can also be formed by the possessive pronoun occurring between the possessor and the possessed noun phrase. In this case, the pronominal acts as a marker of possession for the subject noun phrase. The following exemplify this.

---

[30] The speakers had three different ways of saying the alternate marker. In our elicitations, they would unconsciously use either of the three. When I asked them for the distinction amongst the three words, they stated they were all acceptable Dompo alternate markers.

52a.   *kàbìà   wá   mù   trò*

            child   DET   3SG.POSS   father

            'The child's (his) father'

b.   *Ámá   nè   míà   àní   kɛ́ɛ̀-sɔ̀*

            NAME CONJ 1SG.IND   1PL.POSS   write-thing

            Lit: 'Ama and I our pen'

3.10.2 Nominal Modifiers

As noted in the above sections, nouns in Dompo may be modified by determiners, numerals, adjectives and quantifiers. These mark nouns as a distinct group in the language. These modifiers occur post nominally. In possessed noun phrases, however, the pronouns can occur before the main nouns as can be seen in the examples *mí hálé* 'my hand' and *ó trô* 'your father'. Observe this in the examples below where nouns occur with determiners, descriptive adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, possessed NP and relative clause respectively.

53.   **Nouns and determiners**

a.   *nyìnè   wá*   *kàbìà   díá*

            man   DET   child   DEM

            'The/that man'   'This child'

b.   **Nouns and descriptive adjectives**

           kàntètè bíbrí   *Ámá   sì̃*

           dog   black   NAME short

           'Black dog'   'Short Ama'

           ŋmɛ̀ɛ̀   sɔ̀   káchɛ̀ɛ̀   *kákɛ́   gbɔ̃́ɔ̃́*

           hit   thing   small   basket big

           'Small ball'   'Big basket'

           Nouns and numerals

c.   *kàdààrà   kòólè*   *sèè   dìɔ̃̀*

           orange   one   goat   twenty

           'One orange'   'Twenty goats'

d.   **Nouns and quantifiers**

           bà-shìà   tàmbà   *jí-sɔ́   gbrĕkò*

           PL.person   QUANT   eat-thing   little

           'Many people'   'Little food'

e.   **Nouns and possessed NP**

           Ámá   mù   wùlò   *wúrá   wá   mù   ŋù*

           NAME   3SG.POSS   book   chief   DET   3SG.POSS   head

           'Ama's book'   'The chief's head'

mí	*hálé*				*ó*	*trô*

1SG arm   2SG father

'My hand'   'Your father'

f. **Nouns and relative clause**

kàbìà *kó* *è* *yùrí* *wá* *bà* *nfèè*
child REL 3SG steal DET come here
'The child who is a thief came here'

3.11 Adjectives

Adjectives are a class of words that occur post nominally in Dompo. They modify the noun in a noun phrase by contributing additional meaning to the construction. Though adjectives in Dompo do not form a large class of words, as compared to nouns and verbs, they can be considered as an open class since new words can be added through borrowing, derivation and also through reduplication. Prototypical adjectives in Dompo may have some features which include modifying a noun by acting as its specifier, and undergoing reduplication for the purposes of intensity, plurality etc. The examples below show the adjectives *pɔ́prɔ̀* 'new' and *fúflù* 'white' modifying the nouns *kàchà* 'cloth' and *wùlò* 'book'. Examples (55b and d) depict reduplication as a feature of adjectives in the language.

54a. *kàchà* *pɔ́prɔ̀* *wá*
cloth new DET
'The new cloth'

b. *wùlò* *fúflù* *kó*
book white INDEF
'A white book'

55a. *kàntètè* *gbɔ́ɔ́* *nyɔ̀*
dog big two
'Two big dogs'

b. *kàntètè* *gbɔ́-gbɔ́ɔ́* *nyɔ̀*
dog big-RED two
'Two very big dogs'

c. *bà-shìà* *nyɔ̀* *áná* *bì* *wɔ* *sǐ*
PL-person two QUANT 3PL be at short
'The two people are very short'

d. *bà-shìà* *nyɔ̀* *áná* *bì* *wɔ* *sǐ-sǐ*
PL-person two QUANT 3PL be at short-RED
'The two people are short'

Though the examples above convey similar meanings, it can be noticed that the reduplicated adjectival forms in examples (55b and d) convey an extra meaning of intensity. They depict how very big or short the subjects are. The encoding of intensity is a widespread function of reduplication cross-linguistically (Ga & Dangme, Caesar & Ollennu 2018; Siyase, Adjei 2007;

Ewe, Ameka 1991; Akan, Osam, Marfo & Agyekum 2013; Dagaare, Dansieh 2010; Emmi, Ford 1998).

3.11.1 Morphosyntax of Dompo Adjectives

This section discusses the morphosyntactic attributes of adjectives in the language, with examples to further illustrate them. As stated earlier, adjectives modify nouns in the language as is shown in the examples below.

56a.　*kòsìflé　kàchèέ　wá*
　　　egg　　　small　DET
　　　'The small egg'

b.　　*kàntètè　　　bíbrí　sĩ̀　　wá*
　　　dog　　　　　black　short　DET
　　　'The black short dog'

In the above examples, the adjectives *kàchèέ* 'small', *bíbrí* 'black' and *sĩ̀* 'short' modify the nouns *kòsìflé* 'egg' and *kàntètè* 'dog'. As stated earlier, all adjectives in Dompo occur after the noun. A noun phrase may contain more than one adjective. These adjectives can occur in the sentence without any intervening particles. However, the more descriptive adjectives there are, the most likely there may be intervening particles such as pronouns, as can be observed in example (57c and d) where *è* '3SG' and *bì* 3PL' occurs between the determiner *wá* and *kúlà* and *krí* and *chùàlé.*

The verb *wɔ̀* 'be at' can also be an intervening particle as is illustrated in example (e).

57a.　*chèè　　　　péprέ　kàchèέ　wá　　wɔ̀　　bù　　rɔ́*
　　　woman　　　red　　small　DET　be at　room　POST
　　　'The small-sized fair skinned woman is in the room'

b.　　*wùrà-sɔ̀　　péprέ　gbɔ̃̀ɔ̃̀　mblé　wá*
　　　wear-thing　red　　big　　long　DET
　　　'The big red long coat'

c.　　*ŋmèè̀-sɔ̀　　pɔ́prɔ́　sɔ̃̀nɔ̃́　wá　　è　　kúlà*
　　　hit-thing　　new　　seven　DET　3SG　round
　　　'The seven beautiful new round balls'

d.　　*kàntètè　　　bíbrí　krí　　bì　　chùàlé*
　　　dog　　　　　black　ten　　3PL　beautiful
　　　'The ten beautiful black dogs'

e.　　*bà-chèè　　péprέ　nùm　áná　　bì　　wɔ̀　　kàchèέ　bì　　chùàlé*
　　　PL-woman　red　　five　QUANT　3PL　be at　small　3PL　beautiful
　　　'The five fair slim beautiful women'

It can be noted that the 3rd person singular subject marker *è* in example (57c) does not correspond in number to the plural form of the noun phrase. In example (57d), however, there is a correspondence in number between the noun phrase and the plural marker. This is because the

language marks plurality with the subject plural form *bì* only when the subject noun form is animate. It can be observed that the positions of some adjectives can be swapped. The order of adjectives in the language is thus not restrictive. In example (57a,) for instance, we can have *kàchèɛ́* 'small' come before *pɛ́prɛ́* 'red'. It has been observed, however that to a large extent, the speakers arrange the adjectives in a noun phrase based on the types of adjectives there are and also based on which adjective they place prominence on. Thus, in a phrase that contains colour, value, age, dimension adjectives and numerals, we would most often have the schema below. Example (58) shows some examples.

Noun→ colour/age		numeral				dimension/speed			value/physical property

58a.

bà-chèè	*pɛ́prɛ́*	*nùm*	*áná*	*bì*	*wɔ̀*	*nchɛ́chèɛ́ bì*	*láá*		*chùàlɛ́*
PL-woman	red	five	QUANT	3PL	be	small 3PL	also		beautiful

'The five fair slim beautiful women'

b.

kàntètè	*fúflú*	*sɨ̀*	*mù*	*dúú*	*wá*	*jà*
dog	white	short	3sg	tail	DET	hairy

'The dog's short white hairy tail'

c.

chèè	*wá*	*kúrè*	*ntàà*	*áná*	*pɔ́prɔ́*	*nyɔ̀*	*bì*	*láá*	*chùàlɛ́*
woman	DET	bear	twin	QUANT	new	two	3PL	also	beautiful

'The woman gave birth to two new beautiful twins'

d.

bà-nyìnɛ̀	*sà*	*bì*	*chɔ̀*	*gbɔ̌ɔ̌*	*bì*	*mìn*	*chùàlɛ́*	*bì*
PL-man	three	3PL	pass	big	3PL	NEG	handsome	3PL

láá	*wɔ̀*	*ntlɔ̀*	*pò*
also	be	lazy	person

'The three ugly fat lazy men'

In example (58a-d) we notice that either the colour or age adjectives come first, followed by the numeral, then the dimension adjective and finally the value adjective comes last. However, as noted earlier about the order of adjectives in Dompo, the sentence can still be grammatical even if the order of some of the adjectives above were to change. The order of the dimension and value adjectives, on the other hand, is relatively stable and occurs in the order of the schema shown above. It can be observed that for those instances where adjectives precede quantifiers, the sentences could consist of two NPs. Thus, in example (57c-e), the sentences are made up of the first NPs that consist of the noun, adjective and quantifier. The second NPs consist of the noun and the adjective. Examples (58a, c and d) also have two NPs operating in the constructions.

Adjectives in Dompo may also serve as complements of a verb. This is illustrated in the examples below.

59a. *chèè*   *wá*   *bɔ̀*   *kàchèέ*
woman   DET   make[31] small
'The woman is small-sized / slim'

b. *glìhɔ̀*   *wá*   *wɔ̀*   *gbὲὲ*
metal   DET   be at heavy
'The metal is heavy'

c. *nyìnὲ* *wá*   *wɔ̀*   *ŋgrὲ*
man   DET   be   tall
'The man is tall'

In the above examples, the adjectives *kàchèέ* 'small', *gbὲὲ* 'heavy' and *ŋgrὲ* 'tall' modify the nouns *chèè* 'woman', *glìhɔ̀* 'metal' and *nyìnὲ* 'man' and also serve as complements of the verbs *bɔ̀* 'make' and *wɔ̀* 'be at'.

3.12 Semantic Types of Adjectives

Dixon (2004: 3) notes seven semantic categories of adjectives. There are four core semantic types which are dimension, value, colour, age and three other types namely physical property, speed and human propensity. These are discussed in the sections below.

3.12.1 Dimension adjectives

These are adjectives that describe the dimensions of the referents. Examples include,

60. *gbɔ̀ɔ̀*   'big'/ 'fat'   *sré*   'thin'

kàchèέ   'small'   *mprὲ*   'wide'

mblé   'long'   *sĩ̀*   'short'

ŋgὲŋgrὲ   'tall'

The adjectives *gbɔ̀ɔ̀*, *kàchèέ*, *ŋgὲŋgrὲ and sĩ̀* are used for both animate and inanimate entities. Observe their usage in some sentences below.

61a. *Esther* *ŋgὲŋgrὲ*   *wá*
Esther tall   DET
'The tall Esther'

b. *lɔ̀*   *wá*   *è*   *bɔ́*   *gbɔ̀ɔ̀*
wound DET 3SG   make big
'The wound is big'

---

[31] The verb *bɔ̀* 'make' may have been used in this context to describe the stature of the woman because in the language, being small or slim may be perceived as a process. A process which may involve the possibility of a change that the referent might have some control over. In this context, the woman is thought to have probably made herself slim and can equally change to making herself not slim.

c. *kàlò   kámbrɔ́   wá   wɔ̀   mprὲ*
    house stomach   DET   be   wide
    'The compound of the house is wide'

Also, the adjectives *gbɔ̀ɔ̀*, *mblé* and *kàchὲέ* are used with abstract concepts. In examples (62a and c), we see *gbɔ̀ɔ̀* 'big' being attributed to the abstract concepts *sèn* 'idea' and *flé* 'lie'. Furthermore, we also notice *mblé* 'long' is attributed to *ŋkὲ* 'day' and *kàchὲέ* 'small' is also attributed to *jáwá* 'mind' in (b and d).

62a. *sèn   kó   è   wɔ̀   ó   bóli   rɔ́   sèn   gbɔ̀ɔ̀   nà*
     matter REL   3SG   be at   2SG   brain   in   matter big   FOC
     'Your idea is big'

b.   *é   wɔ́   káá   jóó   mù   ŋkὲ   mblé*
     1SG   be at PROG   wait   3SG   day   long
     'I have been waiting for him for a long time'

c.   *Kòfí   flé   sén   gbɔ̀ɔ̀*
     NAME   lie   matter   big
     'Kofi told a big lie'

d.   *mù   jáwá   wɔ̀   kàchὲέ*
     3SG   mind   be   small
     'His mind is small'

3.12.2 Value Adjectives

Value adjectives describe the quality and value of the referents. The following are some examples.

63. *chùàlέ*   'good/ 'beautiful/handsome'

     mlà   'bad' / 'wrong'

     kὲlὲ   'right'/ 'be correct'/ 'true'

     níŋè   'perfect'/ 'right'

Value adjectives describe human and non-human entities. Notice the adjectives used in the following sentences.

64a. *nyìnὲ   wá   shìà   mlà   nà*
     man   DET   person   bad   FOC
     'The man is a bad person'

b.   *klò   pɔ̀prɔ̀   wá   chùàlέ*
     car   new   DET   beautiful
     'The new car is beautiful'

c.   *kàbìà   wá   mù   sɔ̃̀mì   wá   è   níŋè*
     child   DET   3SG.POSS   work   DET   3SG   perfect
     'The child's work is perfect'

In the first two examples above, we notice the referents *nyìnè wá* 'the man' and *klò pòprò wá* 'the new car' being described with the value adjective of being a bad person and being beautiful. Example (64c) identifies the referent as *kàbìà wá* 'the child' and uses the value of perfection to describe his/her work.

3.12.3 Colour adjectives

The colour adjectives in Dompo are

65.	*fúflú*	'white'
	bíbrí	'black'
	pɛ́prɛ́	'red'
	nfàànà bṹ	'fresh leaf' (green)
	nfàànà bíbrí	'black leaf'(brown)
	kàchònɛ̀ nyòfɔ	'yellow' (derived from the yellow seeds from the African locust bean tree popularly called *dàwàdáwá*)

Colours in Dompo are largely restricted to the primary colours red, black and white. Berlin & Kay (1969) note that in languages with three basic colours, the colours will be black, white and red. Most African languages portray limited colour terms. It can be noticed that in the language, brown is considered a shade of black. The last three colours are nominal forms that are used to refer to colours. Their meanings are derived from natural things in the environment. *nfàànà bíbrí* 'black leaf (brown)' can be seen as a subcategory of the primary colour, *bíbrí* 'black'. The primary colours can be extended to associate with items that have concrete resemblances to the colour concepts. For instance, a Caucasian or a fair-skinned person will be described as either *shìà fúflú* or *shìà pɛ́prɛ́* 'white person' or 'red person'. A ripe fruit will be associated with the colour red. A dirty child or thing might be described as black. Additionally, the last parts of the colours white, black and red ie, *flú*, *brí* and *prɛ́*, can be separated and used independently in sentences. Observe how colour adjectives are used in the following are examples.

66a.   *é   wù   shìà   pɛ̀prɛ̀/fùflù   wá*
       1SG   see   person   red/white   DET
       'I saw the white person'

b.   *kàchà   bìbrì   wá   wɔ̀   káwòlé   wó*
       cloth   black   det   be at   ground   on
       The dark cloth is on the floor'

c.   *yìsòòrè   wá   è   prɛ̂*
       fruit   DET   3SG   ripe
       'The fruit is ripe'

d.   *kàbìà   wá   è   brî*
       child   det   3sg   dirty
       'The child is dirty'

The examples above depict the use of colour as it is associated with concrete objects. Generally, *fùflù* 'white' is associated with clean and bright things while *bíbrí* 'black' is associated with dark and dirty things and 'red' with ripe things.

In examples (66a and b), we see some tonal changes on the adjectives. From its HH underlying tone, the adjectives *fúflú* 'white', *bíbrí* 'black' and *pépré* 'red' change to become LL tones because of the influence of the words *shìà* 'person' and *kàchà* 'cloth'. We would also notice that when the second parts of these adjectives are used on their own, as we would see in examples (66c and d), the tone on them changes to a falling tone when it ends a sentence.

3.12.4 Age adjectives

Age adjectives describe the age of the referents. The adjective *dǎŋ* 'old', *pɔprɔ́* 'new' are examples of this category. The following are some sentences to illustrate them.

67a. *é   dǎŋ   kán   chò   mí   sópó   chèè*
      1SG   old   SC   pass   1SG   young girl
      'I am older than my sister'

b.   *wùrà-sɔ̀   wá   è   dǎŋ*
      wear-thing   DET   3SG   old
      'The dress is old'

c.   *è   kúrè   kàbìà   pɔ́prɔ́*
      3SG   bear   child   new
      'She bore a new child'

d.   *blǎ́   ẃa   pɔ́prɔ́   nà*
      meat   DET   new   FOC
      'The meat is fresh'

The examples above depict the relative age or duration of usage of one thing in comparison to another as can be seen in examples (67a and b). Examples (67c and d) also show that newness can be attributed to a freshly born baby or meat which has just been slaughtered or which is yet to be cooked or processed.

3.12.5 Physical property

These adjectives describe the physical properties of their referents. Examples are

68.   *lé*   'hard'   *nyǎ́*   'sour'

      gbèè   'heavy'   *blɛ̀*   'sweet'

      wúló   'dry'   *bádèè*   'hot'

      wísì   'wet', 'cold'

These adjectival properties can be used to relate to other concepts as well. In as much as heavy describes the physical appearance of objects, it can also be used to relate to abstract concepts such

as heavy news or burden. The adjectives hot and cold can also be used to describe the weather and also the state of the human body. Let us observe them in the following sentences.

69a. *tábló   wá   wɔ̀   gbɛ̀ɛ̀*
table   DET   be   heavy
'The table is heavy'

b. *ó   hàlé   wìsì*
2SG   hand   cold
'Your hands are cold'

c. *kàbrè pã̀   wá   bàdɛ̀ɛ̀*
today   sun   DET   hot
'The sun is hot today'

d. *drú   wá   è   nyɛ̃́*
medicine   DET   3SG   sour
'The medicine is sour'

3.12.6 Speed adjectives

These adjectives describe the speed of the referent. Examples in this category include.

70. *mlá*   'fast / quick, early'

   bwɛ̀   'slow, quiet'

The reduplication of *mlá* and *bwɛ̀* to read *mlámlá* and *bwɛ̀bwɛ̀* and the lengthening of the vowel *ɛ* to read *bwɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀* shows the speed rate of the adjectives. The former shows the fastness of the activity while the latter shows the slowness of the activity. These adjectives can function as adverbs as well. In examples (71a), *bwɛ̀ɛ̀* 'slow' and *mlá* 'fast' function as adjectives in a copula complement position in the copula clause while in examples (b and c), they function as adverbs modifying the verbs '*gblè* 'descend' and *sɛ̃́* 'do'. In these instances, these adjectives may be treated more as adverbs than as adjectives. It can thus be said that *bwɛ̀ɛ̀* 'slow' and *mlá* 'fast' are adverbs whose function may be extended to play the role of adjective in copula clauses. Observe the examples below.

71a. *mù   nààré wɔ̀   bwɛ̀ɛ̀/mlá*
3SG.POSS   walk   be   slow/fast
'His walk is slow/fast'

b. *kàbìà wá   è   gblè   bwɛ̀ɛ̀-bwɛ̀ɛ̀*
man   DET   3SG   descend   slow-RED
'The man descended very slowly'

c. *chɛ̀ɛ̀ wá   sɛ̃́   sɔ̀mì   wá   mlá-mlá*
woman DET   do   work   DET   quick-RED
'The woman did the work quickly'

3.12.7 Human propensity adjectives

They are adjectives that describe some feelings or emotions. Examples of these include.

72.   *kámbrɔ́ blɛ̀*   (stomach sweet) 'generous',

        nyìsì prɛ́   (eye red) 'jealous',

        nyììrɔ́ hɔ̀ɔ̀   (face get) 'happy'

        ŋù lé   (head hard) 'wicked',

        nyì sé   (know matter) 'clever'

        yìrò gbɔ́ɔ́   (body big) 'proud'.

These adjectives employ parts of the body in their descriptions. They are also in the form of compounds. These adjectives function more as nouns. Below are some example sentences they are used in.

73a.   *chèè*   *wá*   *kámbrɔ́*   *wɔ̀*   *blɛ̀*
        woman   DET   stomach   be   sweet
        'The woman is generous'

b.   *mù*   *sòpò*   *wá*   *mù*   *nyìsí*   *prè*   *mù*   *dáá*   *wá*   *wó*
        3SG.POSS   young   DET   3SG.POSS   eye   red   3SG   elder   DET   POST
        'Her younger sister is jealous of her'

c.   *mí*   *nyííró*   *hɔ̀ɔ̀*
        1SG.POSS   face   get
        'I am happy'

d.   *chèè*   *wá*   *mù*   *ŋú*   *wɔ̀*   *lè*
        woman   DET   3SG.POSS   head   be   hard
        'The woman is wicked'

e.   *nyìnɛ̀*   *wá*   *è*   *bɔ́*   *mú*   *yìrò*   *gbɔ́ɔ́*
        man   DET   3SG   make   3SG.POSS   body   big
        'The man is a proud man'

In example (73a) above, *kámbrɔ́* 'stomach' is portrayed as a receptacle of sweet things. Thus, a person whose stomach is sweet is a generous person. Similarly, the redness of the eye in example (b) is associated with jealousy. To be happy means the eye is getting something good. The hardness of the head shows that a person is wicked. A proud person is someone who makes him or herself big.

3.13 Quantification adjectives

Quantification adjectives in the language include the following.

74.   *tàmbà*   'many /a lot'

      gbrέkò   'few/ little'

      bán kró   'all of them'

Below are some examples they can be found in.

75a.   *nyìnὲ wá é   hɔ̀ɔ̀ mù   kán jì   tàmbà*
       man   DET 1SG get   3SG SC   eat a lot
       'I have a lot of respect for the man'

b.   *nsὲ̀   tàmbà è   wɔ̀   kàwòlé   wó*
       water QUANT 3SG be at ground   POST
       'There is a lot of water on the floor'

c.   *bà-shìà   tàmbà bì   wɔ̀   bù   wá rɔ́*
       PL-person   QUANT 3PL be at room DET POST
       'There are many people in the room'

d.   *kàdààrà   gbrέkò è   wɔ̀   táblò wá wó*
       orange   few 3SG be at table DET POST
       'There are a few oranges on the table'

e.   *é   nú   Dòmpò gbrέkò*
       1SG hear Dompo a little
       'I understand a little Dompo'

f.   *bán kró bà*
       3PL all   come
       'All of them came'

From the above examples, it can be noted that the quantification adjectives *tàmbà* and *gbrέkò* are not restricted to items that can be readily counted but include those that are abstract and cannot be counted such as respect, knowledge and water.

3.14 Numerals

The language has both cardinal and ordinal numbers. Numerals are post modifiers and mainly occur after both the head noun and the adjective in a noun phrase.

3.14.1 Cardinal numbers

Dompo has the cardinal number system from one to a thousand. The numeral system from one to ten is made up of single morphemes while the subsequent numbers are compounded. The language uses the decimal base 10 numbering system in counting. This is largely because speakers use their fingers to count in quantities. It also employs the vigesimal or base 20 numbering system for the numbers forty, sixty and eighty in the language. It was observed that the youngest consultant uses *nàí* for the number four and *nùí* for five while the oldest consultant uses *nám* and *nùm* for four and five respectively. I also noticed subsequently that they both sometimes interchange the words unconsciously. Additionally, when counting the numbers individually, the

speakers use either of the words but when the numbers are used in a phrase, *nám* and *nùm* are rather used. For instance, the speakers would say *sèè nùm* 'five goats' and not *sèè nùí* and also *kànyrànyìsì nàm* 'four cats' and not *kànyrànyìsì nàí*. Below are the numbers from one to ten.

76.	*kòó*	'one'		*shìɛ́*	'six'
	nyɔ̀ɔ́	'two'		*sɔ̀nɔ́*	'seven'
	sá	'three'		*brùwè*	'eight'
	nàí/nám	'four'		*kpɑ̃́nú*	'nine'
	nùí/nùm	'five'		*krí*	'ten'

The numbers which follow, eleven to nineteen, are formed by adding the numbers *kòó* 'one', *nyɔ̀ɔ́* 'two', etc. to the decimal number ten with the decimal number preceding the cardinal number. Observe, however, that the last /o/ in *kòó* and /ɔ/ in *nyɔ̀ɔ́* are lost when the form they occur in comes after the decimal. These are as follows.

77.	*krí kó*	'eleven'		*krí shìɛ́*	'sixteen'
	krí nyɔ́	'twelve'		*krí sɔ́nɔ́*	'seventeen'
	krí sá	'thirteen'		*krí brûwè*	'eighteen'
	krí nàí/ nám	'fourteen'		*krí kpɑ̃́nú*	'nineteen'
	krí nùí/ núm	'fifteen'			

The number twenty is made up of a single morpheme *dìɔ̀*. Twenty-one to thirty are connected with the conjunction *nɛ́* 'and' which occurs between them. We would also observe the addition of a suffix *-lè*, whose meaning has not been established, to *kòó* as seen in the number twenty-one. Consider the following examples.

78.	*dìɔ̀*	'twenty'			
	dìɔ̀ nɛ́ kòólè	'twenty-one'		*dìɔ̀ nɛ́ shìɛ́*	'twenty-six'
	dìɔ̀ nɛ́ nyɔ̀	'twenty-two'		*dìɔ̀ nɛ́ sɔ̀nɔ̀*	'twenty-seven'
	dìɔ̀ nɛ́ sà	'twenty-three'		*dìɔ̀ nɛ́ brùwè*	'twenty-eight'
	dìɔ̀ nɛ́ nàí	'twenty-four'		*dìɔ̀ nɛ́ kpɑ̃́nú*	'twenty-nine'
	dìɔ̀ nɛ́ nùí	'twenty-five'		*dìɔ̀ nɛ́ krí*	'thirty'

The numbers thirty-one to thirty-nine are made up of the number twenty and the compounded numbers eleven, twelve, etc. This has the literal meaning twenty and ten one in the language and follows in that order. Consider the examples below.

79. *dìɔ̌ nɛ́ krí kó*   'thirty-one'

    dìɔ̌ nɛ́ krí sá   'thirty-three'

    dìɔ̌ nɛ́ krí shìɛ́   'thirty-six'

    dìɔ̌ nɛ́ krí sɔ́nɔ́   'thirty-seven'

    dìɔ̌ nɛ́ krí kpǎnú   'thirty-nine'

The numbers forty, sixty, eighty are derived when twenty is multiplied by two, three and four respectively. These are shown in the examples below.

80. *dìɔ̌ nyɔ́*   'forty'

    dìɔ̌ sá   'sixty'

    dìɔ̌ nám   'eighty'

The numbers fifty, seventy and ninety are derived by adding *krí* 'ten' to the numbers forty, sixty and eighty. This is further compounded using the conjunction *nɛ́* 'and'. Let us consider the examples below.

81. *dìɔ̌ nyɔ́ nɛ́ krí*   'fifty'

    dìɔ̌ sá nɛ́ krí   'seventy'

    dìɔ̌ nám nɛ́ krí   'ninety'

làfà, meaning 'hundred' in Dompo, is introduced in the counting system. It can be compounded with *kòólè* to mean one hundred or used without it. It is further compounded with other cardinal numbers just as can be seen in the derivations below. It can also be compounded using the conjunction *nɛ́*. Additionally, to code numbers like 154 and 4062, the hundred or multiples of thousands comes first, ie *làfà kòóle* and *kàgbè nám*. This is then followed by the connector *nɛ́* 'and' and then multiples of twenties, *dìɔ̌ nyɔ́* 'forty' and *dìɔ̌ sá* 'sixty'. This is further followed by another connector *nɛ́* and then finally the decimal and a cardinal number *krí nám*. This is the same for thousand which is also introduced by *kágbé*. Below are examples of numbers in the hundreds and thousands.

82. *làfà kòólè*   'one hundred'

    làfà nɛ́ kòólè   'hundred and one'

    làfà kòólè nɛ́ nyɔ̌   'hundred and two'

    làfà kòólè nɛ́ krí kó   'hundred and eleven'

làfà kòólè né dìɔ̀ nyɔ́ né krí nám	'one hundred and fifty-four'
làfà nyɔ̌	'two hundred'
làfà nyɔ̌ né krí sá	'two hundred and thirteen'
làfà sá né krí brûwὲ	'three hundred and eighteen'
làfà nám né sà	'four hundred and three'
làfà núm né shìέ	'five hundred and six'
làfà sɔ̌nɔ̌	'seven hundred'
làfà sɔ̌nɔ̌ né kòólè	'seven hundred and one'
làfà brûwὲ né sà	'eighte hundred and three'
làfà brûwὲ né krí nyɔ̌	'eight hundred and twelve'
kàgbè kòólè	'one thousand'
kàgbè nyɔ̌	'two thousand'
kàgbè sɔ̌nɔ̌ né krí sá	'seven thousand and thirteen'
kàgbè sá	'three thousand'
kàgbè nám	'four thousand'
kàgbè nùm	'five thousand'
kàgbè shìέ	'six thousand'

The speakers noted that they did not have a name for the number one million in Dompo because it was too huge an amount to be counted or for anyone to have.

3.14.2 Ordinal numbers

The language employs verb phrases to talk about ordinals. The words for first and last are manifested differently while the rest of the ordinals follow the same pattern. To be first in Dompo is to *jòŋkprá* 'take lead' and to be last is to *búú kàmnὲ* 'cover back'. The positions in between these two are expressed by using the expression *já mù wó* 'follow him/her on' and then the cardinal numbers follow this verb phrase. The expression *chá mù* 'add to him' followed by the numeral is also used to indicate ordinal numbers in Dompo. This is illustrated below.

83.	*jòŋkprá*	take lead	'first'
	já mù wò nyɔ̌	follow him/her on two	'second'
	já mù wò sá	follow him/her on three	'third'

já mù wò nàm	follow him/her on four	'fourth'
já mù wò nùm	follow him/her on five	'fifth'
já mù wò shìɛ́	follow him/her on six	'sixth'
já mù wò sɔ̀nɔ̌	follow him/her on seven	'seventh'
já mù wò brùwɛ̀	follow him/her on eight	'eighth'
já mù wò kpǎ̋nú	follow him/her on nine	'ninth'
búú kàmnɛ̀	cover back	'tenth'/ last

84a.
| *mù* | *bí* | *kó* | *è* | *jóŋkprá* | | *è* | *yɔ́* | *jùlà-kpà* |
| 3SG | child | REL | 3SG | first | | 3SG | go | learn-place |

'His first child went to school'

b.
| *ó* | *bí* | *kó* | *è* | *já* | *sà* | *wá* | *è* | *brì* | *nyɨ̀nɛ̀* | *wá* |
| 2SG | child | REL | 3SG | follow | three | DET | 3SG | beat | man | DET |

'Your third child beat the man'

3.15 Determiners

Determiners modify the noun phrases. The determiners in the language are *wá* 'the/that' and *kó* 'a/some'. *wá* is a definite marker used to indicate specificity of the noun phrase while *kó* is used to indicate indefiniteness or uncertainty of the noun phrase. Consider these in the following examples.

85a.
| *nyìnɛ̀* | *wá* | *è* | *mìn* | *jí* |
| man | DET | 3SG | NEG | eat |

'The man does not eat'

b.
| *Kòfí* | *wá* | *è* | *yɔ́* | *jùlà-kpà* |
| NAME | DET | 3SG | go | learn-place |

'That Kofi went to school'

c.
| *kàbìà* | *kó* | *bà* | *nfèè* |
| child | INDEF | come | here |

'A (certain) child came here'

In examples (85a and b), we see *wá* specifying the exact noun phrases *nyìnɛ̀* 'man' and Kòfí, being talked about. We can also assume that these two nouns are known to the speakers and any listener(s) who might be present during the utterance. In another sense, example (85c) reveals the uncertainty of the speaker in describing the referent noun phrase *kàbìà* 'child' to the addressee, who might also not know who the referent is.

In addition to these determiners, Dompo also has demonstratives which are used to modify the noun and to indicate how close or far a referent is, from a given point. To show an object is

relatively close to the speaker, the proximal demonstrative *dé/ díá/ dédíá* 'this' is used. These forms are used interchangeably and connote the same meaning. The distal demonstrative *dáŋáá* 'that' has been observed to indicate distal proximity when it precedes the referent. This is not typical of demonstratives or determiners in the language, since they occur after nouns and not before. It has also been observed that in most cases, the determiner *wá* 'that' is used as a distal demonstrative. Observe the examples below.

86a. *kàlò   díá   chùálɛ́*
      house   DEM   beautiful
      'This house is beautiful'

b. **nyìnɛ̀ dáŋáá yɔ́   ndɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ́*
      man   DEM   go   farm-SFX
      'That man goes to the farm'

c. *dáŋáá shíá   wá   è   bá   nfèè*
      DEM   person DET   3SG   come   here
      'That person came here'

Example (86a) shows the proximal demonstrative *díá* occurring after the noun *kàlò* 'house'. The example in (b), shows that the sentence is ungrammatical since the noun *nyìnɛ̀* 'man' precedes the distal demonstrative *dáŋáá*. This is, however, rectified in example (c) where we see the main noun occurring after the distal demonstrative. In example (c) again, we can notice that the determiner *wá* can still be present even when the demonstrative is the modifying element.

Both the proximal and distal demonstratives can occur on their own without the presence of a noun. In this case, the object being referred to may be in close proximity to the interlocutors, in order for them to see what is being talked about. Additionally, these demonstratives may also be used most appropriately in situations when they are accompanied by gestures. The index finger may be pointed towards the object being referred to. The place adjectives *nfèè* 'here' and *nfèénɔ̀* 'there' are optional elements in the sentences below. The demonstratives, *dédíá* and *dáŋáá*, in addition to the gesture made towards the direction of the object, may enable interlocuters to deduce details of objects. The examples below show this.

87a. *dédíá wɔ̀   nfèè*
      this   be at   here
      'This (one) is here'

b. *dáŋáá wɔ̀   nfèénɔ̀*
      that   be at   there
      'That (one) is there'

Demonstratives can also be used referentially in Dompo. In the extract from a folktale below, the hand is making it a point to warn the mosquito against liking the ear's wife. The use of the demonstrative *díá* 'this' in the noun phrase *chèè díá* 'this woman' refers to the ear's wife. The demonstrative is used referentially to indicate a subject who is foreknown to both the hand and the mosquito.

88.

Sèpè	*mù*	*kó*	*è*	*pó*	*mú*	*ká*	*nɛ́*	*kàpnɩ̀*
ear	3SG	FOC	3SG	marry	3SG	wife	CONJ	mosquito

bá	*lèè*	*mú.*	*Né*	*è*	*yɛ́*	*è*	*léé*	*mú*	*nɛ́*
come	like	3SG.	CONJ	3SG	say	3SG	like	3SG	CONJ

kàhàlé	*yáà*	*yɛ́*	*chèè*	*díá*	*màà*	*ó*	*léé*	*yɛ́*	*nà*
hand	go	say	woman	DEM	NEG	2SG	like	COP	FOC

ò.	*yɛ́*	*ó*	*má*	*lèè*	*mú.*
DISJ	say	2SG	NEG	like	3SG

(doy_20161121_40_EDD_NSAKMDKNANAK_some folktales and idioms # 10)

'The ear married its wife and mosquito liked her. And when it (mosquito) said it liked her, the hand said this woman, do not like her (warning the mosquito).

Chapter 4:   VERBS AND VERBAL MODIFIERS

4. 1.   Introduction

This chapter discusses the structure of Dompo verbs and their relationship with their modifiers. The structure of the Dompo verb is discussed in (§4. 2.). This is followed by the composition of verbs in Dompo in (§4. 3.). The chapter further looks at various types of verbs and their argument structure in (§4. 4.). Subsections under this include, one place verbs (§4. 4. 1.), voluntary motion verbs (§4.4.1.1), verbs that denote the emission of vocal sounds (§4.4.1.2), bodily function verbs (§4.4.1.3) and accomplishment verbs (§4.4.1.4). Two place verbs follow in (§4.4.2) with subsections including perception verbs (§4.4.2.1), cognition verbs (§4.4.2.2), creation verbs (§4.4.2.3), utterance verbs (§4.4.2.4), emotion verbs (4.4.2.5), action verbs (§4.4.2.6), locative verbs (§0), agricultural related verbs (§4.4.2.7) and handling verbs (§4.4.2.8). Three place verbs are discussed next in (§4.4.3) while verbs that can be used as both intransitive and transitive are discussed in (§4.4.4). Copula verbs are treated in (§4.5) and tense, aspect and mode marking in (§4.6). Under this are the subsections tense (§4.6.1), past and present tense (§4.6.1.1) and future tense (§4.6.1.2). A discussion on aspect follows in (§4.6.2). Subsections are, perfective (§4.6.2.1), imperfective (§0), habitual (§0) and continuative (§4.6.2.2). Phasal aspect is treated in (§4.7). The subsections under this are, beginning phase (§4.7.1), continuative phase (§4.7.2) and completion phase (§4.7.3). The chapter explores mode in (§4.8). Sub sections include, expressing ability (§4.8.1), expressing conditionals (§4.8.2), expressing obligation and necessity (§4.8.3), expressing probability (§4.8.4), and expressing desire (§4.8.5). Negation marking is discussed in (§4.9). Subsections are future negative (§4.9.1), habitual negative (§4.9.2), continuative/progressive, past and perfective negative (§4.9.3) and existential negative (§4.9.4) Adverbs follow in (4.10), its semantic types (§4.10.1) and other sub sections include, manner adverbs (§4.10.1.1), degree adverbs (§4.10.1.2), modal adverbs (§4.10.1.3), locational adverbs (§4.10.1.4) and temporal adverbs (§4.10.1.5). Mophsyntax of adverbs follow in (§4.10.2), clause initial only adverbs (§4.10.2.1), clause final only adverbs (§4.10.2.2) and both clause initial and final adverbs (4.10.2.3).

4. 2.   The structure of the Dompo verb

The verb may be modified by other markers. In their order of occurrence, the pronominal index that co-references the subject occurs first. It is followed by the auxiliary verb, then the tense, aspect and mode markers and finally the verb stem. This is illustrated in the template in example (1) below.

    1. PRONOMINAL INDEX   AUX   TAM   VERB

The sentence in example (2a) below fits into the template illustrated in example (1). In situations where there is a serial verb as is shown in example (2b), the pronominal index is marked on the

first verb, while the TAM is marked on the second verb. Where there is the presence of a negative marker as can be seen in example (c), the pronominal index occurs first, followed by negation and TAM before the verb. The negation marker and TAM have fused in this instance. In example (d) where there is a negative and modal marker, these two markers occur in this order and precede the verb. Lastly, in example (e), the verb is preceded by the person index and the TAM marker which are fused in the form of *bín*.

2a.   *nyìnè*   *wá*   *è*   *wɔ*   *káà*   *jí*   *jí-sɔ́*   *wá*
         man   DET   3SG   be at   PROG   eat   eat-thing   DET
         'The man is eating the food'

b.   *bì*   *chèè*   *áná*   *(bì)*   *hlé*   *káà*   *yɔ́*   *sùkúù*
         3PL   woman   QUANT   3PL   run   PROG   go   school
         'The women are running to school'

c.   *bì*   *chèè*   *áná*   *bì*   *màn*   *hlé*
         3PL   woman   QUANT   (3PL)   NEG.FUT   run
         'The women will not run'

d.   *á*   *mán*   *tín*   *lùè*   *line*   *kòólè*
         1PL   NEG   BE.ABLE   finish   line   one
         'We cannot finish one line'

e.   *Kòfí*   *nè*   *Ámà*   *bín*   *srέ*   *kè*
         NAME   CONJ   NAME   3PL.FUT   meet   tomorrow
         'Kofi and Ama will meet tomorrow'

4. 3.   *Composition of Dompo lexical verbs*

A large number of the verbs in Dompo consist of a single root that is both monomorphemic and monosyllabic. Action verbs and voluntary movement verbs make up most of the verbs that are classified as monomorphemic and monosyllabic. Observe them in example (3) below.

3.   *wù*   'see'   *jí*   'eat'

         mnέ   'swallow'   *hlé*   'run'

         tɔ̀   'roast'   *yùù*   'build'

         tέέ   'jump'   *kpá*   'slap'

         kèè   'fry'   *lá*   'swim'

         krɔ̀   'grind'   *kwìì*   'cut'

         dɔ́ɔ́   'weed/dig'   *fέ*   'sell'

There are also those verbs that are monomorphemic and multisyllabic. The categories of verbs that are monomorphemic and multisyllabic include voluntary motion verbs, bodily function verbs and action verbs. The following are some examples.

4. | | | | |
    |---|---|---|---|
    | *yìlí* | 'stand' | *bùrè* | 'break' |
    | *fóté* | 'breathe' | *tìŋè* | 'wake up' |
    | *wásá* | 'cough' | *dèhè* | 'sleep' |
    | *chìnà* | 'sit' | *chìchà* | 'step' |
    | *wélé* | 'crawl' | *jòŋà* | 'squat' |
    | *bìsà* | 'ask' | *gbàhà* | 'lean against' |

Other verbs may take a complement in which case both the verb and the complement add to the overall meaning of the verb. The compositionality of the meanings of the verb and the noun, produces the collocation in the output. While English expresses these similar concepts using a single lexical word, Dompo express these concepts using a verb and a nominal complement[32]. The nominal complements that the verbs in this category take, are made up of body parts nouns. Example (5) below shows instances where the verbs in the first category take a complement. We can note that with the exception of *nyììrɔ́ hɔɔ̀* 'be happy/joyful' where the nominal occurs before the verb, all the other examples take a specifying complement which is a body part noun. Mention can also be made of *hɔ̀ɔ̀ njì* where the verbs 'collect' and 'eat' occur in succession.

5. | | | | | | | | | |
    |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
    | *ŋméé* | 'hit' | + | *nyìsì* | 'eye' | *ŋméé nyìsì* | hit eye | 'blink' |
    | *pípíí* | 'perspire' | + | *hàlé* | 'hand' | *pípíí hálé* | perspire hand | 'suck' |
    | *tòò* | 'throw' | + | *hàlé* | 'hand' | *tóó hálé* | throw hand | 'wave' |
    | *ŋmèè* | 'hit' | + | *hàlé* | 'hand' | *ŋméé hálé* | hit hand | 'clap' |
    | *pípíí* | 'perspire' | + | *kánú* | 'mouth' | *pípíí kánú* | perspire mouth | 'kiss' |
    | *kwìì* | 'cut' | + | *kpà* | 'path' | *kwíí kpá* | cut path | 'travel' |
    | *kùlè* | 'beg' | + | *Gbàrèngò* | 'God' | *kùlè Gbárìngò* | beg God | 'pray' |
    | *nyììrɔ́* | 'face' | + | *hɔɔ̀* | 'collect' | *nyììrɔ́ hɔɔ̀* | face collect | 'be happy/joyful' |
    | *hɔɔ̀* | 'collect' | + | *jí* | 'eat' | *hɔ̀ɔ̀ njì* | collect eat | 'believe' |

From the above examples, we can notice some tonal changes as the verbs and their complements come together. Of particular interest is the noun *hàlé* 'hand' which is said with a LH tone. As it gets combined with *pípíí* 'perspire' which has HHH tones, the H tones influence the initial L tone of the former, to change to also become H. This is similar to what happens in the words *tóó hálé* 'wave', *ŋméé hálé* 'clap' and *kwíí kpá* 'travel'. In these words, the verbs are said individually on

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[32] I discussed these noun and verb compounds with Felix Ameka. We came to the conclusion that the verbs were not light verbs or inherent complement verbs. To classify them as such means that the verbs do not have meanings but rather the complements supply the meanings. I have also not described these verbs as light verbs because the verbs are meaningful and a combination of the verb + noun in Dompo yields the interpretation of the collocation.

LL tones. As they get combined with their complement *hàlé and kpà*, they change to be said with HH tones. Also, with the word *hɔ̀ɔ̃ njì* 'believe', the second verb is said with a H tone. The influence of the LL tones on the first verb changes the tone on the second verb to a L tone. Observe that the change in tones on these words indicates that the words are not just two words that are put together randomly. They are compounds that must occur together to enable them to derive their overall meaning. We would also note that there is /n/ insertion before the verb *jí* 'eat'. This insertion process has been discussed in (§2.9.2). The syntax of these compound verbs is such that the verbs may be treated as transitive verbs that take a direct object in the form of the body part nouns. Thus, to describe the action of kissing, *kánú* 'mouth' should always be present to act as the direct object of the verb *pípíí* 'perspire'.

4. 4.   Verbs and their argument structure

Verbs form a core part of the vocabulary of the language. In the clause structure, they select their arguments and determine their structure. Thus, an intransitive verb has one argument, a transitive verb manifests two argument while a ditransitive verb takes three arguments. This section discusses some verbs in Dompo and the arguments they take**.** The semantics of the various types of verbs will be further explored. Following Essegbey (1999), Levin (1993) and Levin & Rappaport (1995), the verbs in Dompo are categorized in accordance with the number of core arguments they take. The table below provides a summary of the types of verbs to be discussed in the subsequent sections.

Type of verb	Semantic category of verbs	Examples of verbs in Dompo
One place verbs	voluntary motion verbs	*chìnà* 'sit', *nààré* 'walk', *bìlɔ́* 'turn around', *téé* 'jump'
	verbs that denote emission of vocal sounds.	*sɯ́* 'cry', *mùséé* 'laugh', *màlèè* 'speak / talk'
	bodily function verbs	*fééméé* 'blow nose', *wásá* 'cough', *kɔ́ɔ́* 'defecate', *gbèsè* 'belch'
	Change of state verbs	*wú* 'die', *wúlò* 'dry', *jìjè* 'spoil'
	locative verbs	*chíná* 'sit', *gbàhà* 'lean against', *yìlí* 'stand', *jɔ̀ŋà* 'stoop'

Two place verbs	perception verbs	*nù* 'hear', *wù* 'see', *kìnì* 'look' *ŋùfà* 'smell'
	cognition verbs	*jáwáá* 'think', *nyí* 'know', *nyìŋè* 'remember', *tã* 'forget'
	creation verbs	*wèsè* 'pound', *dɑ̀ɑ̃̀* 'cook' *yúú* 'build', *làà* 'paint'
	Utterance/speaking verbs	*trè* 'call', *kùlè* 'beg', *yè* 'say' *fùnà* 'threaten'
	emotion verbs	*nyìsì tá* 'be shy', *nyììrɔ́ hɔ̀ɔ̀* 'be happy', *nyìsì prɛ́* 'be jealous', *jí wúrɔ́* 'be sad'
	action verbs	*sɑ̃̀à* 'send', *jɔ́ɔ̀* 'stab/pierce' *kèè* 'fry', *jí* 'eat'
	agricultural related verbs	*dɔ́ɔ́* 'weed', *fàrèè* 'harvest (maize), *kpèè* 'clear land for planting', *fɔ̀ɔ̀* 'transplant'
	Handling or carrying verbs	*kèè* 'take', *húlá* 'carry', *krà* 'hold', *pìà* 'catch'
Three place verbs	caused change of location verbs -	*ŋmèè* 'kick', *gbrè* 'pull' *nyíní* 'push', *tóó* 'throw' *hɑ̃́* 'give', *bìsà* 'ask, *yùrì* 'steal', *ŋná* 'show'
Verbs that can be used as both transitive and intransitive verbs	-	*bùrè* 'break'

Table 11. Table summarizing the verb types

4. 4. 1.   *One place verbs*

One place verbs are intransitive and take one argument. The argument the verb takes is pre-verbal and is the subject of the sentence. When there is the existence of a main noun, there can be a pronominal index preceding the verb and which co-indexes the subject noun. The following examples in (6) below illustrate this. The examples are made up of one argument each. The subject arguments are Kòfí, *nyìnè wá* 'the man', *kàbìà wá* 'the boy' and *lèpé wá* 'the plate'. The verbs that determine the argument structure do not take any direct object, making them one place verbs. Temporal adjectives may be employed to determine temporal information in Dompo. As indicated in (§2.6.3.2), the tones on verbs also determine whether the action performed by the verb is in the past or present. In example (6d), the low tones on the verb indicate that the action occurred in the past. The sub-sections that follow discuss the semantics of the various verbs which are categorized under one place verbs.

6a.   *Kòfí   yìlí*
        name   stand
        'Kofi stands'

b.   *nyìnè   wá   è   cháá*
        man   DET   3SG   dance
        'The man dances'

c.   *kàbìà   wá   wélé*
        child   DET   crawl
        'The child crawls'

d.   *lèpé   wá   bùrè*
        plate   DET   break
        'The plate broke'

4.4.1.1 Voluntary motion verbs

These types of verbs can be described as involving the movement of the body from one position to the other. Verbs that fall in this category are listed below. It must be noted that some of these verbs in example (7) can either be transitive or intransitive. (§4.4.4) elaborates further on such verbs.

7.   *chìnà*   'sit'   *nààré*   'walk'

        kàà   'rise'   *ŋméέ hálé*   'clap'

        bìlɔ   'turn around'   *fùtì*   'stumble'

        hlé   'run'   *lá*   'swim'

        gbǐsɨ̃́   'limp'   *téέ*   'jump'

        jɔ̀ŋà   'squat'

The following are some sentences some of these motion verbs are used in. The examples show the agentive subjects of the motion verbs *chèè wá* 'the woman', Kòfí and *nyìnè wá* 'the man' performing the actions of limping, rising and swimming respectively. In examples (8b and c), the tones on the action verbs indicate that the events occurred in the past (8b), while it happened in the present in (8c).

8a. *chèè   wá   è   wɔ   káà   gbĩ̌sĩ̌*
     woman DET   3SG   be at   PROG   limp
     'The woman is limping'

b.   *Kòfí   kàà*
     name   rise
     'Kofi rose'

c.   *nyìnè   wá   lá*
     man   DET   swim
     'The man swims'

4.4.1.2 Verbs that denote the emission of vocal sounds

These types of verbs describe sounds made by animate entities. These entities therefore act as the agents of these activities. Example (9) shows some verbs that fall in this category. In the subsequent examples (10a-c), we see the agents Ama and Kofi, Kofi and the dog performing the actions of laughing, crying and barking. Note that other vocal emissions of animals such as the cackle of a fowl and the bleating of a goat are represented by the verb *sṹ* 'cry'.

9.   *sṹ*   'cry'   *júlé*   'mumble'

     mùséé   'laugh'   *màlèè* 'speak or talk'

     wúró   'bark of a dog'

10a. *Ámà   nè   Kòfí   wɔ   káà   múséé*
     Ama   CONJ   Kofi   be   PROG   laugh
     'Ama and Kofi are laughing'

b.   *Kòfí   è   sṹ*
     Kofi   3SG   cry
     'Kofi cried'

c.   *kàntètè   wá   wúró*
     dog   det   bark
     'The dog barks'

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4.4.1.3 Bodily function verbs

These are intransitive verbs that when performed, have some substance coming out from the body. Their performance also requires some movement of the body which could be voluntary or involuntary. Examples of these verbs are as follows.

11.	*fééméé*	'blow nose'		*fóté*	'breathe'
	kóné	'snore'		*fóté mlámlá*	'pant'
	fò	'blow'		*fóchlɔ́*	'spit'
	wásá	'cough'		*gbèsè*	'belch'
	ŋ̀àsìí	'sneeze'		*kɛ́ɛ́*	'groan/grunt'
	fṹé	'break wind/fart'		*kɔ́ɔ́*	'defecate'
	pípíí	'perspire/sweat'		*kpákpáá*	'shiver/tremble'

In example (12a) below, sneezing may bring out phlegm from the nose, while breathing will exhale air and farting will bring out foul air, in examples (a, b and c) respectively. Observe these in the sentences below.

12a. *Ámà   è   ŋ̀àsìí*
name   3SG   sneeze
'Ámá sneezed'

b. *kàbìà   wá   è   fóté   mlá-mlá*
child   DET   3SG   breath   fast-RED
'The child is panting'

c. *Kòfí   è   fṹé*
name   3SG   fart
'Kofi farted'

4.4.1.4 Change of state verbs

The subjects of the intransitive verbs under this category undergo a form of change from one state to another. Examples of these verbs include.

13.	*wú*	'die'		*wúlò*	'dry'
	jìjè	'spoil'		*wísì*	'wet'

The following examples are sentences these verbs can be found in. In the examples below, the subjects of the clauses, *jísɔ́ wá* 'the food', *nfànà wá* 'the leaf' and *yí wá* 'the tree', undergo some form of change. The food changes from being edible (the food) to going bad and being inedible. The leaf changes from having some life in it, to becoming dry, hence leading to shrinking. The tree also changes in the same sense as the leaf. It further has life cut from it entirely. These

processes can be considered durative and describe telic situations, which "involves a process that leads up to a well-defined terminal point, beyond which the process cannot continue" (Comrie 1976: 45; Vendler 1957). Consider the following examples.

14a. *jí-sɔ́*   *wá*   *è*   *jíjè*
      eat-thing   DET   3SG   spoil
      'The food is spoilt'

b.   *nfànà*   *wá*   *è*   *wúlò*
      leave   DET   3SG   dry
      'The leaf shrank'

c.   *yí*   *wá*   *wú*
      tree   DET   die
      'The tree is dead'

4.4.1.5 Locative verbs

Locative verbs show the location of objects. There are different types of verbs used to describe the manner or the position of objects in Dompo. The verb *wɔ̀* 'be at' is the general verb used to describe the location of an object. Other verbs that describe the posture of objects are shown in example (15) below.

15.   *chíná*   'sit'   *gbàhà*   'lean against'

      jɔ̀ŋà   'stoop'   *gúnú*   'kneel'

      ŋùnù ŋà   'bend'

      dèhè   'lie down/sleep'

The following examples show some sentences locative verbs are used in. The examples describe the specific positions of Ama, Kofi and *chèè wá* 'the 'woman' which are sleeping, sitting and leaning. We also observe that the verbs of the clauses co-occur with prepositional phrases.

16a. *Ámà*   *è*   *wɔ̀*   *káá*   *dèhè*   *dèhè-sɔ́*   *wá*   *wó*
      NAME   3SG   be   PROG   sleep   sleep-thing   DET   on
      'Ama is sleeping on the bed'

b.   *Kòfí*   *wɔ̀*   *káá*   *chínà*   *káwòlé*
      name   be   PROG   sit   floor
      'Kofi is sitting on the floor'

c.   *chèè*   *wá*   *è*   *wɔ̀*   *káá*   *gbàhà*   *màà*   *wá*   *wó*
      woman   DET   3SG   be   PROG   lean   wall   DET   on
      'The woman is leaning against the wall'

4.4.2   Two place verbs

Two place verbs involve two arguments. The arguments are the subject noun phrase that also serves as the agent and occurs before the verb, and the object noun phrase which is the object and/or the patient undergoing a particular action. The object noun phrase occurs after the verb. Examples of two place verbs are given in example (17) below.

17.   *brì*   'beat'   *mɔ́ɔ́*   'kill'

      dǜŋ   'bite'   *bùù*   'cover'

      nû   'drink'   *jòò*   'chase'

      jí   'eat'   *tòò*   'throw'

      chìchà   'step'

The sentences below also show their usage. In the examples below, we see the agentive subjects *á* '1PL', *kànyrànyìsì* 'cat' and *kàbìà* 'child' performing the actions on the patients, *bàshìà* 'people', *kàtnɔ̀ wá* 'the mouse' and *mù hàlé* 'his hand'.

18a.   *á   brí   bà-shìà   tàmbà*
       1PL   beat   PL-person   QUANT
       'We beat several people'

b.   *kànyrànyìsì   wá   è   jóó   kàtnɔ̀   wá*
       cat   DET   3SG   chase   mouse   DET
       'The cat chased the mouse'

c.   *kàbìà   wá   dǜ̃ŋ   mù   hàlé*
       child   DET   bite   3SG.POSS hand
       'The child bit his hand'

Examples of categories of verbs that can fill a two-place argument structure are as follows.

4.4.2.1 Perception verbs

Perception verbs are part of the two place argument constructions where the subject is classified more as an experiencer and the second argument or object could be described as the stimulus or subject matter of the discussion.

19.   *nù*   'hear'   *wù*   'see'

      kìnì   'look'   *ŋùfà*   'smell'

      dàà   'taste'

Consider the following examples of perception verbs and the constructions they occur in, in Dompo. In the examples, notice that the subjects, Ámà, Kòfí, *é* '1SG' and *è* '3SG', are more

experiencers than agents performing an action. The subjects in a clause can thus play different semantic roles depending on the verb. Berk (1999: 17-18) describes such subjects as experiencer subjects and notes that experiencer subjects are always animate and usually human. She asserts that "an experiencer experiences a sensory perception or psychological state. The experiencer in this case is not doing anything but rather experiencing something through the senses or mental faculties". She further describes the verbs that co-occur with experiencer subjects as relating to consciousness and show "private" internal states. The verbs *wû* 'see', *nú* 'hear', *ŋùfà* 'smell' and *dáá* 'taste' thus invoke the use of the senses of the experiencer subject. The objects in all the examples usually play the role of stimulus of the clauses and not patients affected by some actions.

20a. *Ámà*   *è*   *wû*   *nyìnè*   *wá*
      NAME   3SG   see   man   DET
      'Ama saw the man'

b.   *Kòfí*   *è*   *nú*   *mú*   *nyìnè*
     NAME   3SG   hear   3SG.POSS   name
     'Kofi heard his name'

c.   *é*   *ŋùfà*   *jí-sɔ́*   *wá*
     1sg   smell   eat-thing   det
     'I smelt the food'

d.   *è*   *dáá*   *jí-sɔ́*   *wá*
     3SG   taste   eat-thing   DET
     'He tasted the food'

4.4.2.2 Cognition verbs

Cognition verbs are two place verbs where the subject experiences something and the object is the thing or person being talked about. Examples of cognition verbs include.

21. *jáwáá*   'think'   *nyí*   'know'

     nyìŋè   'remember'   *tã*   'forget'

The sentence examples show instances where these verbs can be used. The verbs relate more to the subjects undergoing some innermost feelings. The feeling of knowing, remembering and forgetting is what these subjects undergo. The objects in these cases are also not affected directly by any action of the subjects. Observe that in example (c), there is no 3SG pronoun co-referencing the noun *kàbìà wá* 'child'. This is because the subject pronoun has an optional usage in co-referencing subjects. It may or may not be used in the clause, though it is present in the majority of clauses. This is further elaborated in (§3.9.1.1).

22a. *é*   *nyí*   *nyíné*   *wá*
      1SG   know   man   DET
      'I know the man'

b.   *é*   *nyìŋè*   *njɔ̀*   *wá*
       1SG   remember   song   DET
       'I remember the song'

c.   *kàbìà* *wá*   *tằ*   *mù*
       child   DET   forget 3SG
       'The child forgot it'

4.4.2.3 Creation verbs

These types of transitive verbs bring into existence something created by the subject. Thus, the agent in the subject position brings into existence the theme or patient, which can be described as an entity that has undergone an action. Observe some examples of creation verbs in example (23).

23.   *wèsè*   'pound'   *dằằ*   'cook'

       yúú   'build'   *làà*   'paint'

       prɔ́   'mould'   *màà*   'sew'

       ló   'weave'

Example (24) presents some sentences creation verbs are used in. The objects, *kàchà wá* 'cloth', *kàlò wá* 'the house', *jísɔ́ wá* 'the food' and *kálɔ́ wá* 'the pot' can be said to be created by the agents of the actions that brought them into being. It can also be added that these objects were initially in a different state before the agents worked on them. Thus, the cloth was a material, the house was perhaps an image on a paper, the food, for instance cassava, yam or plantain, was in its solid state and pounded into its soft state and the pot was in its near liquid state, until it was moulded into its solid state.

24a.   *Ámà*   *è*   *màà*   *kàchà* *wá*
        NAME 3SG   sew   cloth   DET
        'Ama sewed the cloth'

b.   *nyìnɛ̀* *wá*   *yúú*   *kàlò*   *wá*
       man   DET   build   house   DET
       'The man built the house'

c.   *nyìnɛ̀* *wá*   *è*   *wésé*   *jí-sɔ́*   *wá*
       man   DET   3SG   pound   eat-thing   DET
       'The man pounded the food'

d.   *prɔ̀-pò*   *wá*   *è*   *prɔ́*   *kálɔ́*   *wá*
       mould-person DET   3SG   mould pot   DET
       'The potter moulded the pot'

A transitive verb like *màà* 'sew' can have an agent who performs the action of creating an object for the benefit of another person. Thus, in example (e) below, Ámá, the agent of the clause, sews

the cloth for the benefit of her mother, whose role as the indirect object of the clause is an optional one.

e. *Ámá   è   màà   kàchà wá   kán   hǎ   mú   níí*
    NAME 3SG sew   cloth DET   SC   give 3SG.POSS   mother
    'Ama sewed the cloth for her mother'

4.4.2.4 Utterance/speaking verbs

Utterance/speaking verbs verbs are transitive verbs, performed by the speaker, who is the agent, to the listener or addressee who is the object. The object can also be the theme of the clause. Below are some examples of utterance/speaking verbs.

25. *trè*   'call'   *kùlè*   'beg'

     yè   'say'   *fùnà*   'threaten'

     màlèè   'speak/talk'   *pwè*   'insult'

     klà   'greet'   *ŋnà*   'explain

The examples below illustrate some sentences these verbs are found in. Examples (26a-c) show the agentive subjects *é* '1SG', Kòfí, *è* '3SG', Ámá and Kòfí performing the actions of calling, threatening, insulting, explaining and telling. While there are direct objects these actions are performed on in example (a, b, c and e), the object in example (d), however, refers more to the subject matter of the clause than an affected patient.

26a. *é   trè   mú*
      1SG   call   3SG.OBJ
      'I called him'

b.   *Kòfí   è   fúná   kàbìà   wá*
     NAME 3SG threaten   child   DET
     'Kofi threatened the child'

c.   *è   pwé   mú*
     3SG   insult 3SG.OBJ
     'He insulted her'

d.   *Ámà   ŋnà   sén   wá*
     NAME explain matter DET
     'Ama explained the issue'

e.   *Kòfí   yè   kàbìà   wá   krɔ   fnɛ́   è-n   bá*
     name   say   child   DET   side   that   3SG-FUT   come
     'Kofi told the child that he will come'

4.4.2.5 Emotion verbs

These are verbs that express the state of the mind in the expression of an emotion. Examples include.

27.   *nyìsì tá*   'be shy'   *nyììrɔ́ hɔ̀ɔ̀*   'be happy'

       nyìsì prɛ́   'be jealous'   *jí wúrɔ́*   'be sad'

       nrá   'fear'   *kìsì*   'hate'

       léé   'like/love'

Some example sentences they can be used in are as follows. In the examples below, the subjects *á* '1PL' undergo the emotion of fear. In a similar vein, Ámà experiences the emotion of jealousy by her eyes being red. In example (c), the subject pronoun also experiences the emotion of love towards the object referent.

28a.   *á   nrá   Gbárìngò*
        1PL   fear   God
        'We fear God'

b.   *Ámà   mù   nyìsí   prɛ̀   mù   dáá   wó*
        NAME   3SG   eye   red   3SG.POSS   elder   on
        'Ama is jealous of her sister'

c.   *é   léé   mù   sé*
        1SG   like   3SG   matter
        'I like/love him/her'

4.4.2.6 Action verbs

Action verbs are voluntary acts that cause the occurrence of something. In some cases, there is the existence of a patient who undergoes the action. The examples below show some action verbs.

29.   *sʉ̀à*   'send'   *jɔ́ɔ̀*   'stab/pierce'

       kèè   'fry'   *jí*   'eat'

       mɔ̋ɔ̋   'kill'   *kwìì*   'cut'

       kpàhè   'peel'   *tɔ̀*   'roast'

       bàà/ blì   'mix'   *dã̀ã̀*   'cook'

       kpà   'slap'   *bùrè*   'break'

Consider some examples these verbs are used in. The examples reveal the agents Kòfí, Ámá, and the pronoun *è* performing the actions of sending, killing, peeling and stabbing the patients *Ámá, séé wá* 'the goat', *jɔ́ wá* 'the yam' and *nyìnè wá* 'the man' respectively.

30a.   *Kòfí   è   sṹà   Ámá*
        NAME   3SG   send   NAME
        'Kofi sent Ama'

b.   *Kòfí   mɔ́ɔ́   séé   wá*
        NAME   kill   goat   DET
        'Kofi killed the goat'

c.   *Ámá   è   kpáhé   jɔ́   wá*
        NAME   3SG   peel   yam   DET
        'Ama peeled the yam'

d.   *è   kɛ́ɛ́   kwìì-sɔ̀   kán   jɔ́ɔ́   nyìnè   wá*
        3SG   take   cut-thing   SC   pierce   man   DET
        'He stabbed the man'

4.4.2.7 Agricultural related verbs

These verbs are two place verbs that describe activities related to farming. The agent is usually the farmer carrying out a particular activity. The object NP is usually the material that is being worked on. These verbs are action verbs and actions are categorized as such. They are, however, described as agricultural-related because they involve action that are agriculture-related. Observe some examples of these verbs in example (31) below.

31.   *dɔ́ɔ́*   'weed'   *fàrèè*   'harvest (maize)'

        kpèè   'clear land for planting'   *fɔ̀ɔ̀*   'transplant'

        dú   'sow/plant'   *kpà*   'harvest (dig yam)'

        fò   'thresh (grain)'   *kṹnɔ́*   'sprout'

Below are some sentence frames the verbs can be used in. The examples show 'the farmer' *dɔ́ɔ́-pó* and the agentive subject pronoun *è* carrying out the acts of planting, harvesting and transplanting seedlings and farm produce.

32a.   *dɔ́ɔ́-pó   wá   è   dúú   sɔ́   bá   bí*
        weed-person   DET   3SG   plant   thing   PL   offspring
        'The farmer planted the seedlings'

b.   *dɔ́ɔ́-pó   wá   è   fárèè   bàsàwè wá*
        weed-person   DET   3SG   harvest   maize   DET
        'The farmer harvested the maize'

	c.	è	fɔ̀ɔ̀	sɔ́	bá	bí	áná
		3SG	transplant	thing	PL	offspring	QUANT

'He transplanted the seedlings'

4.4.2.8 Handling or carrying verbs

Handling or carrying verbs are those transitive verbs that require the agent to move an object from one height to another. They are action verbs but specifically, they describe the actions of handling objects. Examples include

33.	*kὲὲ*	'take'		*húlá*	'carry'
	krà	'hold'		*pìà*	'catch'
	pàà	'raise/lift'			

Some sentences they are used in are described below. Examples (34a and b) indicate instances where the agents, Ámá and Kòfí, took and held the objects *kájá wá* 'the chair' and *wùlò wá* 'the book' respectively. Taking the chair involved moving it from one position to the other. Similarly, Kòfí holding the book means that the book was taken from one position and being held on to by him. The last example involves the handling verb *píá* 'catch' where Kòfí does not catch the thief by seeing him steal but rather by holding and restraining him physically.

34a.	*Ámá*	*è*	*kέὲ*	*kájá*	*wá*	
	NAME	3SG	take	chair	DET	

'Ama took the chair'

b.	*Kòfí*	*è*	*krá*	*wùlò*	*wá*
	NAME	3SG	hold	book	DET

'Kofi is holding the book'

c.	*Kòfí*	*è*	*píá*	*yùyùrí-pó*	*wá*
	NAME	3SG	catch	steal-person	DET

'Kofi caught the thief'

4.4.2.9 Caused change of location verbs

These are transitive verbs in which the agents cause a change in location of the objects. They also involve an object, which is the patient and is the one the action is carried out on. The change of location verbs are slightly different from the carrying or handling verbs in that, the distance between the agent and the object when the action is carried out might be wider. Let us consider some examples of these verbs.

35.	*ŋmὲὲ*	'kick'		*gbrè*	'pull'
	nyíní	'push'		*tóó*	'throw'

The examples below also show some sentences these verbs can occur in. The examples show to a high extent that there is a greater degree of distance between the agents and the objects with caused change of location verbs than with handling or carrying verbs. The verbs *ŋmèè̀* 'kick', *gbrè* 'pull' and *tóó* 'throw' have the objects, *ŋmèè̀sɔ́* 'ball, *kábìà wá* 'the child' and *bwì wá* 'the stone' reaching a longer distance.

36a.   *Kòfí   ŋmèè̀   ŋmèè̀-sɔ́   wá*
      NAME   kick   kick-thing   DET
      'Kofi kicked the ball'

b.   *é   gbrè   kábìà   wá*
     1SG   pull   child   DET
     'I pulled the child'

c.   *Ámá   è   tóó   bwì   wá*
     NAME   3SG   throw   stone   DET
     'Ama threw the stone'

4.4.3   Three place verbs

While Dompo has a large number of transitive and intransitive verbs, it has a few ditransitive verbs. Three place verbs involve three arguments where there is firstly an agent or an experiencer either performing or being affected by an action. There is additionally the goal of the action and the theme or subject of discussion. The goal occurs before the theme when the verbs *há* 'give' *bísá* 'ask' and *ŋnà* 'show' occur as ditransitive verbs. The following are some examples of three place verbs in Dompo.

37.   *hɑ̌́*   'give'   *bìsà*   'ask

     ŋná   'show'   *sɥ̌à*   'send'

The examples below show some sample sentences these verbs are found in. The examples illustrate the verbs *hɑ̌́* 'give', *bísá* 'ask' and *ŋnà* taking the direct objects Kòfí and *kàbìà wá*. The indirect objects of the verbs directly follow the direct objects. In example (38a and b), the goal, Kofi occurs before the themes, *ŋɔ̀sré wá* 'the money' and *sén kò* 'an issue'. The sentence would be ungrammatical if *ŋɔ̀sré wá* 'the money' and *sén kò* 'an issue' preceded Kofi.

38a.   *Ámá   hɑ̌́   Kòfí   ŋɔ̀sré   wá*
      NAME   give   name   money   DET
      'Ama gave the money to Kofi'

b.   *Ámá   è   bísá   Kòfí   sén   kò*
     NAME   3SG   ask   NAME   matter   INDEF
     'Ama asked Kofi a question'

c.   *Kòfí*   *ŋnà*   *kàbìà*   *wá*   *lànɔ̀*   *wá*
       NAME   show   child   DET   house   DET
       'Kofi showed the child the house'

A ditransitive verb may also employ a goal as an indirect object. This can be seen in example (d) below where Kòfí is the agent, Ámá, the direct object and *fɛ̀ɛ̀-kpà* is the goal.

d.   *Kòfí*   *è*   *sũ̀à*   *Ámá*   *fɛ̀ɛ̀-kpà*
       NAME   3SG   send   NAME   sell-place
       'Kofi sent Ama to the market'

4.4.4   *Verb that can be used both intransitively and transitively*

The action verb *bùrè* 'break' has been identified to function both transitively and intransitively. When it is are used intransitively, no direct object follows the verb. However, when it is used transitively, the agent performs the action of breaking the direct object. Observe the examples below.

39a.   *kálɔ́*   *wá*   *bùrè*
       pot   det   break
       'The pot broke'

b.   *chɛ̀ɛ̀*   *wá*   *bùrè*   *kálɔ́*   *wá*
       woman   DET   break   pot   DET
       'The woman broke the pot'

4.5   Copula verbs

There are three copula verbs in Dompo. They are *lè* 'be', *yé* 'be' and *wɔ̀* 'be at'. The copula verb *lè* 'be' is used to mark identity. *wɔ̀* 'be at' is used to express attribution and location while possession is marked by *yé* 'be' and *wɔ̀* 'be at'. *wɔ̀* 'be at' is further used as an existential marker. See (§7.4) for further discussions on these copulas.

4.6   Tense, Aspect, Mode marking

This section discusses the various preverbal morphological markers in Dompo and how speakers code them. Payne (1997: 233) defines Tense, Aspect and Mode (TAM) as "operations that anchor or ground the information expressed in a clause according to its sequential, temporal, or epistemological orientation". The subsequent sections further discuss these markers.

4.6.1   Tense

According to Payne (1997: 236), "tense is the grammatical expression of the relation of the time of an event to some reference point in time, usually the moment the clause is uttered". The past, present and future tense exist in Dompo. The past and and present tense are not morphologically marked. Tone is sometimes used to distinguish between these two tenses. The future tense is

marked by the morpheme /n/ on the subject pronoun of the clause. Below is a table summarizing the different forms and their meanings.

Tense/Aspect/Mode	Form	Meaning
Past and Present tense	Bare form of the verb indicates past and present tense. Tone is used to distinguish between them. Temporal adverbs also determine whether an event happened in the past or present	Events are said to be in the past tense if an activity occurred before the time of utterance. Present tense maps the time of occurrence of the action to the time the utterance about the event is being made.
Future Tense	/ n /	The future tense describes periods later than now when events are expected to occur. It is marked on the pronominal form of the clause.
Perfective/ Imperfective/ Habitual aspect	Bare form of the verb marks all these aspects aspect.	The perfective indicates an event that has already been carried out or completed but still holds some relevance at the point of reference. The past imperfective describes an action which might or might not have been going on at the time of the speaker's utterance. The habitual denotes an event whose frequency of occurrence is constant
Continuative / Progressive	*káá*	This indicates an ongoing,

	Progressive is also expressed by the repetition of the action verb in an utterance.	dynamic process.

Table 12. Table summarizing tense /aspect/ mode types

4.6.1.1 Past and present tense

If an activity happened before the time of utterance, that activity will be said to have occurred in the past and thus denotes the past tense. Present tense, on the other hand, maps the time of occurrence of the action to the time the utterance about the event is being made. The past and present tense in Dompo are not morphologically marked. The bare form of the verb indicates either present or past tense. Tone can be used as a strategy for distinguishing past from present events. Speakers are, however, not always conscious of this difference that tone creates and thus are not always consistent. (§2.6.3.2) provides further discussion of the grammatical functions of tone and some reasons why speakers may vary in its realization.

The elicitation sessions for the past and present tense systems were done twice. In the first attempt, the speakers were most often not conscious of the tonal differences they attributed to the verbs. The data that is presented in these sections have been duly crosschecked with the speakers and to some extent the speakers have acknowledged the differences in tone on these two tense forms. It must, however, be noted that there are cases where the tones on the verbs could be interchanged and could imply the verb is either in the past or present. The speakers could also sometimes use one tone on the verbs to indicate either present or past. Aside from tones distinguishing between the past and present tense in Dompo, temporal adverbs can also help determine whether an event occurred in the past or present. Observe the following examples where the low and high tones mark the present and past tenses.

In example (40a, 41a and 42a) below, observe that the low tones on the verbs *jì* 'eat', *là* 'drum' and *yɔ̀* 'go' indicate the activity was done in the past. High tones on the verbs *jí* 'eat', *lá* 'drum' and *yɔ́* 'go' as illustrated in examples (40b, 41b and 42b) show that the activities are taking place at the time of the utterance.

40a.   *é*   *jì*   *jí-sɔ́*
        1SG   eat   eat-thing
        'I ate food'

b.   *é*   *jí*   *jí-sɔ́*
        1SG   eat   eat-thing
        'I eat food'

41a. *nyìnè   wá   là   kákùré*
      man   DET   beat   drum
      'The man beat the drum'

b.   *nyìnè   wá   lá   kákùré*
      man   DET   beat   drum
      'The man beats the drum'

42a. *è   yɔ̀   ndɔɔ̀-rɔ́*
      3SG   go   farm-SFX
      'He/she went to the farm'

b.   *è   yɔ́   ndɔɔ̀-rɔ́*
      3SG   go   farm-SFX
      'He/she goes to the farm'

Temporal adverbs can also be used to indicate that the actions occurred in the past. The adverb can either occur sentence initially or finally and can still occur in the sentence even when the verb and the tonal marking on it depict that the event occurred in the past. This can be observed in examples (43a and b) below.

43a. *é   jì   jí-sɔ́   ndré*
      1SG   eat   eat-thing   yesterday
      'I ate food yesterday'

b.   *màngré   è   yɔ̀   ndɔɔ̀-rɔ́*
      day before yesterday   3SG   go   farm-SFX
      'The day before yesterday, he/she went to the farm'

4.6.1.2 Future Tense

The future tense describes periods later than the present when events are expected to occur, in other words a period of action after an utterance has been made. The future tense marker in Dompo is the morpheme /n/ which is marked on the pronominal subject marker. The motivation for attaching this marker to the pronoun instead of the verb that succeeds it, needs to be further investigated. Presently, what has been established in this thesis is that the future marker is in the same intonational segment as the pronoun. Furthermore, it has been noticed that the future tense marker is a weak attachment to the pronoun because it can be broken off from the pronoun when the negative marker occurs between the pronoun and the verb as can be observed in example (44b). The future marker instead attaches to the negative marker.

The sentences in (44a and c) below describe instances of unforeseen events and reveal that the events of Kòfí giving the book and the person coming, have not occurred but are presupposed to happen. The speaker thus uses the future marker in anticipation that the book will be given to the person mentioned. In example (c), the future marker is used to register an answer from the addressee.

The subsequent examples in (45a and b) also show a conjugation of the future tense using the verbs *brì* 'beat' and *dèhè* 'sleep'. In the marking of the 1SG for future tense, the object pronoun *mí* is used, instead of the subject pronoun *é*. This can be seen in example (45a and b). What example (45a) further reveals is a homorganic assimilation of the future tense marker /n/ to the bilabial sound /m/ due to the influence of the following bilabial sound.

44a.
Kòfí	*è-n*		*kéé*	*wùlò*	*wá*	*kán*	*hǎ*	*mú*
Name	3SG.FUT		take	book	DET	SC	give	3SG

'Kofi will give the book to him'

b.
Kòfí	*è*	*mà-n*	*kéé*	*wùlò*	*wá*	*kán*	*hǎ*	*mú*
Name	3SG	NEG.FUT	take	book	DET	SC	give	3SG

'Kofi will not give the book to him'

c.
nkὲ	*mné*	*ó-m*	*bá*	*nfèè*
day	what	2SG.FUT	come	here

'When will you come here?'

45a.
1SG	*mí-m brí wó*	'I will beat you'
2SG	*ó-m brì mí*	'You will beat me'
3SG	*è-m brí wó*	'He/she will beat you'
1PL	*àní-m brì wó*	'We will beat you'
2PL	*bì-m brí mí*	'You (pl) will beat me'
3PL	*bì-m brí ání*	'They will beat us'

b.
1SG	*mí-n dèhè*	'I will sleep'
2SG	*ó-n dèhè*	'You will sleep'
3SG	*è-n déhè*	'He/she will sleep'
1PL	*àní-n dèhè*	'We will sleep'
2PL	*bì-n déhè*	'You (pl) will sleep'
3PL	*bì-n déhè*	'They will sleep'

Some functions of the future tense in Dompo include being used by the speaker(s) to forewarn the addressee(s) of future happenings, to let others know of a person's intentions, to state facts that the speaker might be privy to, and is sure of its occurrence, to prove a person's ability to do something, to reassure the addressee of future commitments by the speaker, and to command the addressee. Consider these in the examples below.

46a.
aní-m		*brí*	*wó*
1PL.FUT		beat	2SG

'We will beat you'

b.
bì	*yé*	*bì*	*mà-n*	*tré*	*mí*
3PL	say	3PL	NEG.FUT	call	1SG

'They said they will not call me'

c.
é	*nyí*	*fnέ*	*mí-m*	*bá*
1SG	know	that	1SG.FUT	come

'I know that I will come'

d.
è-n	*tín*	*sɔ̀*	*sɔ̀mì*	*wá*	*lèlè*
3SG.FUT	BE.ABLE	do	work	DET	well

'He/she can do the work well'

e.
mí-m	*búú*	*ó*	*kámnè*	*kpà*	*kó*	*ó*	*yɔ́*
1SG.FUT	cover	2SG	back	place	INDEF	2SG	go

'I will follow you wherever you go'

f.
ó-n	*féé*	*nfèè*	*kábrè*
2SG.FUT	sweep	here	today

'You will sweep here today!'

The examples above illustrate the various roles and implications the future tense exhibits in Dompo. In example (46a), the future marker serves to predict what the intentions of the speakers are towards the addressees and to further warn the latter. This point is linked to example (b) where the speaker is aware of the future intentions of the people he is talking about perhaps through a prior discussion. In example (c), the speaker is emphatic about his future commitment in stating that he is aware of making that commitment and is ready to stick to it. In the same vein, the speaker serves as a voice of reassurance as he or she reinforces his support for the referent in doing a good job in example (d). Similar to this is what we see in example (e) of future assurance of the speaker committing him or herself in doing the bidding of the referent. Lastly in example (f), the speaker commands the addressee in wanting him or her to do the sweeping. We can also sense that the speaker is in a position of authority such as a parent, elderly person, elder sibling etc. to command the addressee and have the former carry out the order.

 Noticed that the future marker attaches to pronouns instead of verbs as can be seen in examples (46 a, c, d, e, f) because it is heard on the pronouns. However, in a situation where a proper name occurs before the verb, and where the pronoun that coreferences the proper name is absent, the future marker rather attaches to the verb and not the proper name. This can be seen in example (47a). It is, however, ungrammatical to attach the future marker to the noun in Dompo as is illustrated in example (b) below.

47a.
Kòfí	*m-bá*	*lànɔ̀*	*kábrè*
NAME	FUT.come	house	today

'Kofi will come home today'

b.   *kàbìà-n   wá   plé
     child-FUT   DET   play
     'The child will play'

c.   kàbìà   wá   è-n   plé
     child   DET   3SG.FUT   play
     'The child will play'

To correct the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (b) above, the 3rd person singular pronoun *è* should be introduced after the determiner. The future tense marker /n/ can then be attached to the pronoun as illustrated in example (c).

4.6.2   Aspect

Payne (1997: 238) posits that aspect "describes the internal shape of events or states". The following sections focus on the various types of aspect; the perfective, imperfective and habitual aspect that are not represented by any morphological markers but rather, represented by the bare forms of the verbs that describe them. These different aspects can be deduced from the contexts in which they are used. The continuative or progressive aspect is represented by the marker *káá*. The various sections will discuss how Dompo speakers indicate the various aspect distinctions.

4.6.2.1 Unmarked verbs used to indicate aspect

The perfective indicates an event that has already been carried out or completed but still holds some relevance at the point of reference. The bare form of the verb is what is used to indicate a completed action. The following sentences illustrate some contexts in which this aspect type can be deduced.

48a. Ámá   è   jí   jí-sɔ́   wá
      NAME   3SG   eat   eat-thing   DET
      'Ama has eaten the food'

b.   Kòfí   è   hǎ̋   mú   wùlò   wá
      NAME   3SG   give   3SG   book   DET
      'Kofi has given the book to him'

c.   chèè   wá   è   frò   n-chà   áná
      woman DET   3SG   wash   PL-cloth   QUANT
      'The woman has washed the clothes'

In the above examples, the base forms of the verbs *jí* 'eat', *há* 'give and *frò* 'wash' are used to indicate that the actions they describe have been completed. It is, however, not certain whether tone on the verbs play a role in distinguishing between this perfective form and other forms.

Secondly, the past imperfective describes an action which might or might not have been going on at the time of the speaker's utterance. Payne (1997: 239) describes "a situation in the imperfect as being viewed from the inside as an ongoing process". The two clauses described in the

imperfective may, however, be linked by the conjunctive marker *nè*. Observe the following examples.

49a.   *kó*   *é*   *yɔ́*   *lándɔ̀*   *wá*   *nè*   *Ámà*   *yìlí*   *nɔ̀*

when	1SG	go	house	DET	CONJ	Ama	stand	there

'When I was going home, Ama was standing there'

b.   *kó*   *chèè*   *wáá*   *féé*   *kábó*   *wá*   *nè*   *nyìnè*   *wáá*   *jí*

When	woman	DET	sweep	place	DET	CONJ	man	DET	eat

'When the woman was sweeping, the man was eating'

The examples above have two clauses combined. The first clause is, however, a subordinate of the second clause. The former begins with the temporary marker *kó* indicating the period when an action was taking place. In example (49a), we can infer from the construction that Ama might have been standing at the place the speaker saw her way before the speaker made the utterance and she might still have been standing there long after the speaker got home. In the same vein, a similar meaning can be inferred for example (b) where the woman could have been sweeping before the speaker made the utterance and the man might or might not have finished eating by the time the sweeping was done. It can also be noticed that though there are no overt markers of past progression in the two sentences, example (b), however, contains instances where we can see some form of progression. The determiner *wá* 'the' is lengthened in both clauses to show that there was progression in the woman's sweeping and the man eating before the speaker's utterance.

Thirdly, the habitual denotes an event whose frequency of occurrence is constant.. The bare verb, with a H tone, is used to show the habitual. Just as was mentioned about tonal inconsistencies with the present tense, the H tone might not be consistent on every verb supposed to indicate the habitual. In the following examples, the verbs *yɔ́* 'go' and *bá* 'come' are said with H tones which indicates that the events have a habitual occurrence. It must also be noted that different interpretations or translations are possible for the same sentence whether the verbs are used with a present tense translation (as shown in example 40b, 41b and 42b) or a perfective translation (as illustrated in example 50a and b). Additionally, to show that the event is a habitual one, the temporal adverb of time *ŋkèéŋkè* 'everyday/always' can be added either at the beginning or end of the clause as shown in example (50c). Observe these in the sentences below.

50a.   *é*   *yɔ́*   *lánɔ̀*

1SG	go	home

'I go home'

b.   *é*   *bá*   *lánɔ̀*

1SG	come	home

'I come home'

c.   *Ámá*   *kúlé*   *Gbáríngò*   *ŋkèé-ŋkè*

NAME	beg	God	day-RED

'Ama prays everyday'

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In Dompo, a habitual activity that is expressed in future terms is marked by the future tense marker on the pronoun and the habitual marker of time at the end of the clause. The habitual can also occur at the beginning of the clause as is shown in example (51b). Consider the examples below.

51a. *Ámá*   *è-n*   *fɛ́*   *jí-sɔ́*   *ŋkɛ̀ɛ́-ŋkɛ̀*
      NAME   3SG.FUT   sell   eat-thing   day-RED
      'Ama will sell food everyday/always'

b. *ŋkɛ̀ɛ́-ŋkɛ̀*   *Kòfí* *nɛ̀*   *Ámá* *bín*   *yɔ́*   *ndɔ̀ɔ̀-rɔ́*
      day-RED   NAME CONJ   NAME 3PL.FUT   go   farm-SFX
      'Everyday, Kofi and Ama will go to the farm'

4.6.2.2 Continuative or Progressive

This indicates "an ongoing, dynamic process" (Payne 1997: 240). The marker in Dompo that indicates that a particular action is ongoing is *káá*. It occurs pre-verbally before the main verb and between serial verbs. This marker may be considered a variant of the serial connector *kán* which also occurs between serial verbs (see §8.3.2). It can also be observed that while pronominal forms occur before the V₁ *hlé* 'run', *kéé* 'take' and *wɔ̀* 'be at', the aspectual marker occurs before the V₂ *yɔ́* 'go', *hɑ̌̃* 'give' and *jí* 'eat'. The following examples illustrate this aspect type.

52a. *nyìnɛ̀* *wá*   *è*   *hlé*   *káá*   *yɔ́*   *sùkùù*
      boy   DET   3SG   run   PROG go   school
      'The boy is running to school'

b. *é*   *kéé*   *wùlò*   *wá*   *káá*   *hɑ̌̃*   *wó*
      1SG   take   book   DET   PROG   give   2SG
      'I am giving you the book'

c. *bà*   *nyìnɛ̀* *áná* *bì*   *wɔ̀*   *káá*   *jí*   *jí-sɔ́*   *wá*
      PL   boy   QUANT 3PL   be at   PROG eat   eat-thing   DET
      'The boys are eating the food'

In examples (52a and b), the progressive marker is between the serial verbs *hlé* 'run' and *yɔ́* 'go' and *kéé* 'take' and *há* 'give'. It occurs before the auxiliary verb *wɔ̀* 'be at' and the main verb *jí* 'eat' in example (c). Generally, its presence in the sentences depicts the ongoing processes of running, giving and eating performed by *nyìnɛ̀ wá* 'the boy', *é* '1SG' and *bà nyìnɛ̀ áná* 'the boys'.

The progressive in Dompo can also be represented by the repetition of the action verb in an utterance. The difference between the verbs as they occur in this manner is tonal. The tone changes on the second occurrence of the verb while it carries its original tone on the first occurrence. Observe the examples below.

53a. *bìsà*   *é*   *bísá* *mú*   *sén*   *kò*
      ask   1SG   ask   3SG   matter INDEF
      'I am asking him something'

b. *kìnì   Ámá   kíní   mù*   *wùlò   wà*
    look   NAME   look   3SG.POSS   book   DET
    'Ama is looking for her book'

c. *fèè   é   féé   bù   wá*
    sweep   1SG   sweep   room   DET
    'I am sweeping the room'

d   *kpàrèè   á   kpáréé   lànɔ̀   wá*
    clean   1PL   clean   house   DET
    'We are cleaning the house'

As noted above, the clauses above first start with L tones on the verbs followed by the subject pronoun and then the repeated form of the verb, but this time with H tones on them. The question could be asked whether the H tones are not an influence from the preceding H tone on the pronouns *é* and *á* and Ámá. The answer would be that, the even with the L tone on the 3SG pronoun è, the second verb will still be said with H tones. This is illustrated in example (54) below. It seems that even if a verb inherently has H tones, once it is used in the present tense in this manner, it would first start off being said on L tones before it is said on H tones on its repeated form.

54.   1SG   *dɔ̀ɔ̀*   *é*   *dɔ́ɔ́*   'I am weeding'

       2SG   *dɔ̀ɔ̀*   *ó*   *dɔ́ɔ́*   'You are weeding'

       3SG   *dɔ̀ɔ̀*   *è*   *dɔ́ɔ́*   'He/she is weeding'

       1PL   *dɔ̀ɔ̀*   *a*   *dɔ́ɔ́*   'We are weeding'

       2PL   *dɔ̀ɔ̀*   *bí*   *dɔ́ɔ́*   'You (pl) are weeding'

       3PL   *dɔ̀ɔ̀*   *bí*   *dɔ́ɔ́*   'They are weeding'

4.7   Phasal Aspect

Phasal aspect describes those aspectual distinctions which are relevant to the developmental phase of the state of affairs in a clause. This state of affairs refers to the beginning, continuation and end of an activity (Dik 1997: 225). Dik further explains that phasal aspects have a temporary component which has a bearing on the internal development of the state of affairs. The four phasal activities he postulates are ingressive (beginning), progressive, continuous and egressive (end).

Ameka (2008: 172) describes phasal aspect as "the distinct intervals in the temporal development of situations". He employs the words onset, nucleus and coda to describe the phases of the situations. Onset refers to the first moment which is a necessary and essential stage in every situation. The nucleus depicts the main part, while the coda is the final temporal phase. He further

notes that the onset, nucleus and coda align with the ingressive/inceptive, progressive/continuative and egressive phases respectively.

The English verbs start and begin are used to describe the onset and the initial period of nucleus of situations (Wierzbicka 1988: 77-78). The verbs finish and end are also used to encode the final part of the nucleus and coda (Wierzbicka 1988: 77-78; Dixon 2005: 180).

The difference between the aspect marking described above and the phasal aspect has to do with the markers used to represent them. While no morphological markers represent the perfect and imperfect aspect, the progressive or continuous aspect is marked by *káá*. The phasal aspect, however, has morphological markers that represent the beginning / inception, continuative and completion of events.

Dompo also marks the various phases of activities by employing phrases and sentences. I use the terms beginning /inceptive, continuative and completion/egressive to describe the various phasal stages of activities in Dompo. The stages are illustrated as follows,

a. BEGINNING / INCEPTIVE PHASE → *wùrà kàsè* 'enter under' (begin)

b. CONTINUATIVE PHASE → *á wɔ́ káá bɔ́* 'we are doing' (continue)

c. COMPLETION / EGRESSIVE PHASE → *kánú lùèrè* 'mouth finish' (complete/end)

4.7.1 Beginning / inceptive phase

The beginning phase of every activity is coded by the terms *wùrà kàsè* 'begin'. It contains the verbs enter/put/wear and the postposition *kàsè*. Thus, the literal meaning of the phrase is 'enter under'. *wùrà*, as its role denotes, is the first verb of a serial verb construction and thus plays its role as an inception verb in these constructions. In both examples (55a and b) below, we can observe that it plays more of a complementary role to the V₂ *jré* 'bath' and *jí* 'eat' as they can be seen as the main activities going on in the clauses. In a similar vein, (Ewe, Ameka 2008; Tafi, Bobuafor 2013; Nkami, Asante 2016) express the beginning phase using the verbs wear, put in, bring into vogue and the postposition 'under'. Observe the following examples.

55a. *Ámà è wúrá kàsè káá jré*
NAME 3SG enter under PROG bath
'Ama has begun bathing'

b. *mí-n wúrá kàsè káá jí kábrè*
1SG-FUT enter under PROG eat today
'I will start eating today'

4.7.2 Continuative phase

This phase describes events that are still ongoing or an activity that is still being done by someone. It is expressed first with the pronoun, which tells the person or persons carrying out the

activity. This is followed by the auxiliary verb *wɔ* 'be' and then the progressive marker *káá* and finally the doing or action verb that describes the action that the agent is undertaking. The difference between the continuative or progressive aspect discussed in (§4.6.2.2) and the continuative phase discussed here is that while the latter employs the verb *wɔ* 'be' which occurs before and together with the progressive marker *káá* to express the continuous occurrence of an action, the progressive marker *káá* is used alone in the former aspect type. Observe the examples below.

56a.   *è*   *wɔ*   *káá*   *d�á̋ɑ̋*
         3SG   be   PROG   cook
         'She continued cooking'

b.   *ó*   *wɔ*   *káá*   *féé*   *nɔ*
         2SG   be   PROG   sweep   there
         'You are still sweeping there'

In the examples above, *dáá* 'cook' and fèè 'sweep' are described as continual processes and thus the the copula verb *wɔ* 'be' and the pre-verbal progressive marker *káá* indicates that these events are progressive.

4.7.3   Completion / Egressive Phase

The completion phase in Dompo is expressed by the body part noun *kánú* 'mouth', and the verb *lùè* 'finish'. This expression seems to be a similar translation from Akan where a speaker uses the term *m'ànó é sì* which literally means 'my mouth it has ended/landed'. In Akan, it could be used by a linguist who is a representative of a chief and who uses it to convey the fact that the chief has finished talking. It can also be uttered in a formal situation where a speaker who has been given the platform to talk says this phrase at the end of his or her speech. A similar equivalent of the above expression described in Akan is *mí kánú trɔ* 'my mouth has fallen'. In Dompo, the completion phase of an event is presented as *kánú lùèrè* 'mouth finish/end'. It is used to describe the end of an activity or the fact that the activity is finished or has been completed. Its use in Dompo appears to be more general than in Akan. This combination is, however, not used in the sentences that were elicited. It was provided as an elicited word during the elicitation of the SIL wordlist for the word 'finish'. Instead, the shortened form *lùè* of the full form *lùèrè* is what is used to imply the end of an activity in sentences. Ewe also employs the mouth in the expression *wú nu* 'exceed/surpass the mouth' to express the completion phase (Ameka 2008: 181). The following sentences illustrate the completion phase of events in Dompo.

57a.   *é*   *dɑ̋ɑ̋*   *lùè*
         1SG   cook   finish
         'I have finished cooking'

b.   *mí-n*   *bɔ*   *jí-sɔ*   *wá*   *kán*   *lùè*
         1SG-FUT   make   eat-food   DET   SC   finish
         'I will finish cooking the food'

The above examples show *lùè* occurring at the end of the clauses. This not only shows its position as a completive verb but also reiterates its status by being the last verb in a serial verb construction as in example (55b) above.

4.8 Mode

This describes the speaker's disposition towards a situation and also describes the speaker's stance on the possibility or impossibility of a situation (Payne 1997: 240). Modal concepts the language expresses include ability, conditionals, obligation and desire. The language thus employs different markers to express these concepts. The following sections will discuss these concepts.

4.8.1 Expressing ability (potential)

Dompo expresses ability or the potential to do something by using the ability marker *tin* 'be able to'. This is shown in the examples below.

59a. *mín*　　　*tín*　　　*trè*　*mú*　*kán*　*hǎ*　*wó*
　　　1SG-FUT　　BE.ABLE　　call　3SG　SC　give　2SG
　　　'I can call him or her for you'

b.　　*Ámá*　*è-n*　　　　*tín*　　　　*frò*　*mú*
　　　Ama　3SG-FUT　　　BE.ABLE　　　wash　3SG
　　　'Ama can wash it'

c.　　*kàbìà*　*wá*　*tín*　　　*chàà*　*fnè*　*Michael Jackson*
　　　child　DET　BE.ABLE　　dance　like　Michael Jackson
　　　'The child can dance like Michael Jackson'

d.　　*ó-n*　　　　*tín*　　　*bà*　*nfèè*
　　　2SG-FUT　　BE.ABLE　　come　here
　　　'You can come here'

From the above examples, we can see that *tín* describes the potential of the referents to perform the action that is described by the verb. In (59c), there is an additional meaning of comparison we can ascribe to the use of the ability marker. Thus, the child has the ability to dance like the maestro Michael Jackson. Finally, in example (d), the deeper inference one can make from the ability marker is that of expressing permission and less of ability. This can be uttered to someone, possibly a child, who has been denied access to the place of mention for a reason and then the speaker may later willingly permit the addressee to come after some reconsideration. Note that the modal marker cannot be used alone without the presence of a verb in any situation. It thus cannot operate as a verb as is evident from the above examples where it occurs before the main verbs in the clauses.

4.8.2   *Expressing conditionals*

Conditionals are expressed in Dompo by using the conditional marker *nɛ́* 'if'. Below are some examples. Conditional clauses are further discussed in (§8.2.3.1).

60a.   *nɛ́   Kòfí   bà   lánɔ̀   mí-n   brí   mú*
      COND   Kofi   come   home   1SG.FUT   beat   3SG
      'If Kofi comes home, I will beat him'

b.   *má-n   brí   wó   nó   ó   bɔ́   sèn   lɛ̀lɛ̀*
      NEG-FUT   beat   2SG   COND   2SG   do   matter   good
      'I will not beat you if you do the right thing'

c.   *é-n   yɔ́   ndɔ̀ɔ̀-rɔ́   nó   ó   há   mí   ŋɔ̀sré*
      1SG-FUT   go   farm-SFX   COND   2SG   give   1SG   money
      'I will go to the farm if you give me money'

We can see from the examples above that this is a typical conditional which is tied to the promise of doing something when the speaker gets the future opportunity to do so or after his or her request has been granted. This is seen in examples (60 a, b and c). In example (a), Kofi is sure to be beaten when he gets home. The addressee is also assured of not receiving any beating if he or she behaves well in example (b), and the speaker in (example c) gives the addressee the assurance of going to the farm only when the former receives some money. In example (b and c), the last sound of the conditional marker /ɛ/ is elided in speech and is pronounced like the following sound /o/. The combination is further lengthened in speech. The conditional clause can occur either before or after the main clause in Dompo. Thus, in example (a), it occurs before the main clause while it occurs after the main clause in examples (b) and (c).

4.8.3   *Expressing obligation and necessity (deontic)*

Obligation and necessity are expressed in Dompo by using the marker *è fátàá* 'it befits'. This translates into saying that it is fitting that the speaker does the action intended. Consider the examples below.

61a.   *è   fátàá   n-ì-n   fó   nɔ́   ŋkɛ̀ɛ́   krí   nyɔ̃́*
      3SG   befit   CONJ.1SG.FUT   reach   there   day   ten   two
      'I have to be there by 12:00 pm'

b.   *è   fátàá   n-ì-n   tré   mí   níí   kábrè*
      3SG   befit   CONJ.1SG.FUT   call   1SG.POSS   mother   today
      'I must call my mother today'

c   *è   fátàá   nò   ò   kúlé   kpá   kán   yɔ́*
      3SG   befit   CONJ   2SG   beg   road   SC   go
      'You have to seek permission before you go'

In examples (61a and b), the *nìn* after *è fátàá* looks like a combination of the conjunction *nɛ́* 'and', *mí* '1SG.OBJ' and the future marker *n*. There is the deletion of the vowel /ɛ/ from *nɛ́*, after which *n*

assimilates partially to the following *mi* so it becomes *ni* and then the future marker is attached to it to become *nín.* In example (c), we see the elision of /ɛ/ from the conjunction to be pronounced like the following /o/ sound in speech. Generally, the sentences depict the personal responsibility of the referents to perform the actions described by the verbs.

4.8.4   *Expressing epistemic mode (probability)*

Probability is also expressed the same way obligation and necessity are, in Dompo. The marker *è fátàá* 'it befits' is used to carry across the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition he or she is making. Observe the following examples.

62a.   *è   fátàá   nè   bí-n   lùà   lánɔ̀*
        3SG   befit   CONJ   3PL.FUT   arrive   house
        'They must have arrived home'

b.   *è   fátàá   nè   bí-n   yɔ́   fɛ̀ɛ̀-kpà*
        3SG   befit   CONJ   3PL.FUT   go   sell-place
        'They must have gone to the market'

In the examples above, the speaker is expressing the probability of the subjects either arriving home or going to the farm. This, he expresses by virtue of the fact that he might be privy to the schedule of the referents and thus is committed to the truth proposition of his utterance about them.

4.8.5   *Expressing desire (optative)*

The desiderative verb *léé* 'want' is used to express the desire of the speaker or the referent to do something. In example (63a), *nyìnè wá* 'the man' desires to go to Accra. Similarly, in example (b), the speaker desires or wishes to ask the addressee something and does that by asking permission from the addressee by the use of the desiderative marker *léé.*

63a.   *nyìnè   wá   léé   nè   mù   yɔ́   Accra*
        man   DET   want   CONJ   3SG   go   Accra
        'The man wants to go to Accra'

b.   *é   léé   nì-n   brá   wò   jí-sɔ́*
        1SG   want   CONJ.1SG.FUT   bring   2SG   eat-thing
        'I want to bring you food'

c   *é   léé   n-í-n   bísà   wó   sén   kò*
        1SG   want   CONJ.1SG.FUT   ask   2SG   matter   INDEF
        'I want to ask you something'

4.9   *Negation*

This section focuses on how negation is expressed in Dompo, and the elements used in expressing it. The negative marker occurs before the verb and after the subject in Dompo. The base form of

the negative marker is *mà/màà*. These forms may change depending on the aspect type. The future negative marker is expressed as *màn*. In this expression, the future marker /n/ occurs after the negative marker *mà*. The habitual negative, the past negative, the progressive negative and the perfect negative markers are all represented by *mìn.* It is, however, not clear how the changes that resulted in this form occur. Observe the table below with a list of the forms of the negative marker and their uses.

Form of the negative marker	Use
màn	Future negative marker
mìn	Habitual, past, progressive and perfective negative
màà	Existential negative

Table 13 List of all forms of the negative marker

Example (64) below shows first the affirmative forms of the negative sentences in examples (64a, 65a and 66a). The examples in (b) show the negative forms. Observe that in the affirmative sentence in example (59a), the subject pronoun referent is absent while it is present in the negative sentence in (59b). The sentence would be ungrammatical if the pronoun were to be omitted in this instance. In the affirmative constructions in examples (60a and 61a), the verb *wɔ̀* serves as the main verb.

64a.   *chɔ̀*   *nfèè*
         pass   here
         'Pass here'

b.   *ó*   *má*   *chó*   *nfèè*
        2SG   NEG   pass   here
        'Do not pass here'

65a.   *Kòfí*   *wɔ̀*   *lánɔ̀*
         NAME   be at   house
         'Kofi is at home'

b.   *Kòfí*   *màà*   *lánɔ̀*
        NAME   NEG   house
        'Kofi is not at home'

66a.   *è*   *wɔ̀*   *ànì*   *kámàlèè*   *rɔ́*
         3SG   be at   1PL   language   POST
         'It is in our language'

b.   *è   màá   ànì   kámàlèè   rɔ́*
        3SG   NEG   1PL   language   POST
        'It is not in our language'

4.9.1   Future negative

The future negative marker in Dompo is *màn*. It is a preverbal marker that seems to be a fusion of the negative *mà* and the future marker *-n*. The sentences below are first illustrated in the positive forms followed by the negative versions in (b). In examples (67a and 68a), the future marker *-n* is attached to the subject pronouns indicating the actions of sweeping and washing are marked to occur at a later stage other than the time of the utterance. In the negative forms, the negative marker and the future marker are combined to convey the future impossibility of an action.

Positive / Negative

67a.   *Ámá   è-n   féé   lànɔ̀   wá*
        NAME   3SG-FUT   sweep   house   DET
        'Ama will sweep the house'

b.   *Ámá   è   mà-n   féé   lànɔ̀   wá*
        NAME   3SG   NEG-FUT   sweep   house   DET
        'Ama will not sweep the house'

Positive/ Negative

68a.   *ó-n   fró   káchà   wá*
        2SG-FUT   wash   cloth   DET
        'You will wash the cloth'

b.   *ó   má-n   fró   káchà   wá*
        2SG   NEG-FUT   wash   cloth   DET
        'You will not wash the cloth'

Example (69) below further illustrates the use of the negative future marker using the subject pronouns and the verb *bá* 'come'. It can be observed from this data that there is zero marking on the 1st person subject pronoun and also, the future marker /n/ assimilates to suit the place of articulation of the following sound and also becomes bilabial.

69.   1SG   *ø*   *mám*   *bá*   'I will not come'

        2SG   *ó*   *mám*   *bá*   'you will not come'

        3SG   *è*   *màm*   *bá*   'he/she/it will not come'

        1PL   *á*   *mám*   *bá*   'we will not come'

        2PL   *bì*   *màm*   *bá*   'you (pl) will not come'

        3PL   *bì*   *màm*   *bá*   'they will not come'

4.9.2   *Habitual negative*

The morpheme *mìn* is the marker used to express the habitual negative in Dompo. The following examples, shown in the affirmative in (a) and the negative versions in (b), show how the habitual plays out in some sentences in the negative. Examples (70b, 71b and c) below of the habitual negative marker illustrate the marker occurring before the main verbs *yɔ́* 'go', *kúlé* 'beg' and *yɛ́* 'say'

Positive / Negative

70a. *Ámá   yɔ́   Bwàrè³³ kùlè-kpà*
      NAME   go   God   beg-place
      'Ama goes to church'

b.   *Ámá   è   mìn   yɔ́   Bwàrè   kùlè-kpá*
      NAME   3SG   NEG.HAB   go   God   beg-place
      'Ama does not go to church'

Positive/Negative

71a. *Kòfí   kúlé   Bùàrìngò   ŋkὲέ-ŋkὲ*
      NAME   beg   God   day-RED
      'Kofi prays every day'

b.   *Kòfí   è   mì-n   kúlé   Bùàrìngò   ŋkὲέ-ŋkὲ*
      NAME   3SG   NEG-HAB   beg   God   day-RED
      'Ama does not pray every day'

c.   *nέ   é   mí-n   yɛ́   mù   ŋkὲέ-ŋkὲ   shìá   mà-n   nú   mú*
      COND 1SG   NEG-HAB   say   3SG   day-RED   person   NEG-FUT   hear   3SG
      'If I do not say it every day, a person will not hear it'

The following example shows the use of the habitual negative marker occurring before the verb *bá* 'come'. Also note the influence of the intial sound /b/ of the verb *bá* on the last sound /n/ of the preceeding negative marker *mìn*, which changes to become *mím*.

72.   1SG   *é*   *mím*   *bá*   'I do not come'

      2SG   *ó*   *mím*   *bá*   'you do not come'

      3SG   *è*   *mìm*   *bâ*   'he/she/it does not come'

      1PL   *á*   *mím*   *bá*   'we do not come'

      2PL   *bì*   *mìm*   *bâ*   'you (pl) do not come'

      3PL   *bì*   *mìm*   *bâ*   'they do not come'

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³³ The word for God has the variant forms *Bwàrè, Bwàrèn, Bwàrèngò, Gbàrìngò* and *Gbwàrìngò* These are used interchangeably in speeches.

4.9.3 *Continuative/ progressive, past and perfective negative*

The continuative/progressive, past and perfect negative forms are all expressed by the morpheme *mìn*. The examples below show the affirmative constructions in (a) and the negative ones in (b) for the continuative form. In the affirmative sentences in (73a, 74a), we notice that the progressive marker *káá* occurs preverbally. The verb *wɔ̀* which is present in the affirmative sentences is missing in the negative versions in (73b and 74b).

Positive / Negative

73a. *kàbìà   wá   wɔ̀   káá   yílí   nɔ́*
      child   DET   be at   PROG   stand   there
      'The child is standing there'

b. *kàbìà   wá   mìn   yílí   nɔ́*
      child   DET   NEG   stand   there
      'The child is not standing there'

Positive/ Negative

74a. *bì   wɔ̀   káá   shìɛ́   jɔ́*
      3PL   be at   PROG   chew   yam
      'They are eating yam'

b. *bì   mìn   shìɛ́   jɔ́*
      3PL   NEG   chew   yam
      'They are not eating yam'

The following examples show the representation of the negative marker in the past negative form.

Positive/ Negative

75a. *mí   níí   dèhè   ndrê*
      1SG.POSS   mother   sleep   yesterday
      'My mother slept yesterday'

b. *mí   níí   mìn   déhè   ndrê*
      1SG.POSS   mother   NEG   sleep   yesterday
      'My mother did not sleep yesterday'

The examples below indicate the negative conjugated forms of the continuative/progressive and past forms using the verbs *yílí* 'stand' and *dèhè* 'sleep'.

Continuative/Progressive negative

76a. 1SG   *é*   *mín*   *yìlí*   'I am not standing'

      2SG   *ó*   *mín*   *yìlí*   'you are not standing'

      3SG   *è*   *mìn*   *yílí*   'he/she/it is not standing'

      1PL   *á*   *mín*   *yìlí*   'we are not standing'

	2PL	*bì*	*mìn*	*yílí*	'you (pl) are not standing'
	3PL	*bì*	*mìn*	*yílí*	'they are not standing'

Past negative

b.	1SG	*é*	*mín*	*déhè*	'I did not sleep'
	2SG	*ó*	*mín*	*dèhè*	'you did not sleep'
	3SG	*è*	*mìn*	*déhè*	'he/she/it did not sleep'
	1PL	*á*	*mín*	*dèhè*	'we did not sleep'
	2PL	*bì*	*mìn*	*déhè*	'you (pl) did not sleep'
	3PL	*bì*	*mìn*	*déhè*	'they did not sleep'

The perfective negative is also expressed by the marker *mìn*. Observe some examples in both the affirmative and the negative form of the perfective. Examples (77a and 78a) show the perfective forms of the verbs *bá* 'come' and *brì* 'beat' while their negative forms are illustrated in examples (77b and 78b).

Positive / Negative

77a. *Ámá è bá Accra*
NAME 3SG come Accra
'Ama has come to Accra'

b. *Ámá è mìn bá Accra*
NAME 3SG NEG come Accra
'Ama has not come to Accra'

Positive/ Negative

78a. *chèè wá brì kàbìà wá*
woman DET beat man DET
'The woman has beaten the child'

b. *chèè wá mìn brí kàbìà wá*
woman DET NEG beat man DET
'The woman has not beaten the child'

In example (79), the perfective negative form of *brì* 'beat' is conjugated using the pronoun forms below.

79.	1SG	*é*	*mín*	*brì*	*mú*	'I have not beaten him'
	2SG	*ó*	*mín*	*brì*	*mú*	'you have not beaten him'
	3SG	*è*	*mìn*	*brí*	*mú*	'he/she/it has not beaten him'
	1PL	*á*	*mín*	*brì*	*mú*	'we have not beaten him'

2PL	*bí*	*mín*	*brì*	*mú*	'you (pl) have not beaten him'
3PL	*bí*	*mín*	*brì*	*mú*	'they have not beaten him'

4.9.4   Existential negative

Existential negation is used to negate an existential proposition. The marker used to do this is the negative marker *màà*. The existential is formed using the verb *wɔ̀*. Examples (80a and 81a) show the existential marker and its role in marking the existence of the subjects *jɔ́ wá* 'the yam' and *nyópó* 'milk'. Examples (80b and 81b) negate these propositions by replacing the existential marker with the negative marker.

Positive / Negative

80a. *jɔ́*   *wá*   *wɔ̀*   *lè*
      yam   DET   be at   hard
      'The yam is hard'

b.   *jɔ́*   *wá*   *màá*   *lé*
      yam   DET   NEG   hard
      'The yam is not hard'

Positive/ Negative

81a. *nyópó* *wɔ̀*   *tró*   *wá*   *rɔ́*
      milk   be   bottle   DET   POST
      'There is milk in the bottle'

b.   *nyópó* *màà* *tró*   *wá*   *rɔ́*
      milk   NEG   bottle   DET   POST
      'There is no milk in the bottle'

4.10   Adverbs

There are relatively fewer adverbs in Dompo compared to other open word classes like nouns, verbs and adjectives. Payne (1997: 68) describes adverbs as "a 'catch-all' category where any word with semantic content (i.e. other than grammatical particles) that is not clearly a noun, verb, or an adjective is often put into that class". This section discusses adverbs in Dompo by looking at their form and the various types there are in the language.

4.10.1 Semantic types of adverbs

Adverbs in Dompo may be categorized into five types. These are manner, degree, modal, locational and temporal. They are each discussed in the sections that follow.

4.10.1.1 *Manner adverbs*

Adverb of manner describes the way in which an activity designated by the verb is performed in a clause. These adverbs can either be in their basic form or their reduplicated forms. Manner adverbs include.

82. *mlá/ mlámlá*   'quickly'

bwèè/ bwèèbwèè   'slowly'

kámà /kámàkámà   'nicely'

lèlè   'well/very well'

Manner adverbs can only occur clause finally. Any attempt to front them leads to the ungrammaticality of the clause, as can be seen in examples (83b and 84b) below.

83a. *Ámá   è   chínà   mlá-mlá*
      NAME   3SG   sit   quick-RED
      'Ama sat quickly'

b.   **mlá-mlá   Ámà   è   chínà*
      quick-RED   NAME   3SG   sit
      'Quickly Ama sat'

84a. *chèè   wá   màà   kàchà   wá   kámà-kámà*
      woman DET   sew   cloth   DET   nice-RED
      'The woman sewed the cloth nicely'

b.   *kámà-kámà   chèè   wá   màà   kàchà   wá
      nice-RED   woman DET   sew   cloth   DET
      'Nicely, the woman sewed the cloth'

The manner adverbial demonstratives *léé* 'like this' and *ló* 'like that' are also used to describe activities performed by the speaker. It is expected that the addressee performs the action carried out by the speaker in the same way. In example (85a) below, the speaker is using the food he or she is preparing as a point of reference to indicate to the addressee (s) how to do same. In (b), the demonstrative adverb *léé* replaces the description of the activity described by the speaker. Example (86a), however, depicts the speaker urging the addressee (s) to perform the action of cooking similarly to how another person other than the speaker is doing it. Example (86b) employs the adverbial demonstrative *ló* to indicate to the addressee (s) exactly how the action should be done. Observe these in the sentences below.

85a. *bɔ̀   jí-sɔ́   wá   lóŋó   é   bɔ́   mù*
      do   eat-thing   DET   how   1SG   do   3SG
      'Prepare the food like I am doing it'

b.   *bɔ̀   mù   léé*
      do   3SG   like this
      'Do it like this'

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86a. *bɔ̀*   *jí-sɔ́*   *wá*   *lóŋó*   *è*   *bɔ́*   *mù*
      do   eat-thing   DET   how   3SG   do   3SG
      'Prepare the food like he/she is doing it'

b.   *bɔ̀*   *mù*   *ló*
      do   3SG   like that
      'Do it like that'

4.10.1.2   Degree adverbs

This indicates the degree or intensity of an event in relation to the verb in the clause. The adverbs *lɛ̀lɛ̀* 'very much' and *kán chò* 'too much' are examples of this category. It can be observed that the adverbs of degree illustrated in the examples below can only occur clause finally. They cannot be fronted or occur at the initial position in a clause. in example (87c). The interpretation of the sentence in example (82c) based on context means 'the man run quickly more than the child'. The degree adverb *kán chò* 'too much' is used as a comparative marker to indicate the degree to which the man was faster than the boy. Consider the following examples.

87a. *è*   *léé*   *mú*   *lɛ̀lɛ̀*
      3SG   like   3SG   very much
      'He likes her very much'

b.   *jí-sɔ́*   *kó*   *è*   *wɔ̀*   *táblò*   *wá*   *wó*   *è*   *chɔ̀*   *kán*   *chò*
      eat-thing   REL   3SG   be at   table   DET   on   3SG   QUANT   SC   pass
      'The food on the table is in abundance'

c.   *nyìnɛ̀*   *wá*   *hlé*   *mlá-mlá*   *kán*   *chó*   *kàbìà*   *wá*
      man   DET   run   quick-RED   SC   pass   child   DET
      'The man run faster than the child'

4.10.1.3   Modal adverbs

These are also classified as evidential or epistemic adverbs by Payne (1997: 70). He notes that "epistemic adverbs indicate the degree to which the speaker is committed to the truth of the clause". Examples in Dompo include.

88.   *kɛ̀lɛ̀/ kɛ̀lɛ̀kɛ̀lɛ̀*   'truly'

      né é bíí   lit: 'If I know' 'Perhaps/maybe'

      kpàŋ   'In vain'

The following examples show some sentences the modal adverbs can be found in. Example (89) conveys the speaker's certainty and conviction of the actions of the referents of the clauses. This additionally implies that the speaker has verified the truth condition of the referent's words and has found it to be exactly that. In example (b), the speaker is speaking with some underlying tone of uncertainty. That is why the literal meaning of the phrase has a conditional marker attached to

it. Example (c) could be uttered by the speaker who might be privy to the manner in which the referent died and hence the use of the modal adverb *kpàŋ* to describe the death.

89a.   *kèlè-kèlè*   *è-n*   *tré*   *mí*
      true-RED   3SG-FUT   call   1SG
      'Truly, he will call me'

b.   *né*   *é*   *bíí*   *é-n*   *bá*   *kábrè*
      COND   1SG   know   1SG.FUT   come   today
      'Perhaps I will come today'

c.   *nyìnè̀* *wá*   *è*   *wú*   *kpàŋ*
      man   DET   3SG   die   in vain
      'The man died in vain'

4.10.1.4   Locational adverbs

Locational adverbs indicate the location of events in a clause. They include.

90.   *nfèè*   'here'   *kàbnà*   'left'

      nfèé nɔ́ /nɔ́   'there'   *kájépé*   'right'

      fɔ́   'far'   *sósó*   'north/ up'

      pà̃ knɔ́ kpá   'east' (lit. place the sun rises)   *kàsè*   'south/down'

      pà̃ trɔ́ kpá   'west' (lit. place the sun sets)

Observe the following sentences in which these adverbs are used in example (91). Notice from the position of the locational adverbs in the clauses that they all occur clause finally. It thus implies that they cannot occur clause initially.

91a.   *Ámá*   *chíná*   *nɔ́*
      NAME   sit   there
      'Ama lives there'

b.   *Kòfí*   *è*   *díí*   *yí*   *wá*   *kán*   *yɔ́*   *sósó*
      NAME   3SG   climb   tree   DET   SC   go   up
      'Kofi climbed to the top of the tree'

c.   *klɔ́*   *wá*   *è*   *wɔ̀*   *mù*   *kájépé*
      door   DET   3SG   be at   3SG.POSS   right
      'The door is on his/her right'

4.10.1.5   Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs indicate the time that events take place in a clause. Following Dixon (2010), temporal adverbs in Dompo may be grouped in the following categories — temporal shifters, duration, frequency, specific time span and expectancy. The sections below discuss these categories.

A.   Temporal shifters indicate a shift in time from when an utterance is uttered to when an event described by the utterance is carried out. They can occur both clause initially and finally. Observe some examples below.

92.	*ndré*	'yesterday'	*dràwá*	'olden times'
	kàbrè	'today'	*drà*	'already'
	kè	'tomorrow'	*lóŋó díá*	'now'
	màngré	'day before yesterday'	*mù kàmné*	'after'
	mànkɛ̀	'day after tomorrow'		

Consider some sentence examples these temporal shifters are used in.

93a.   *ndré*   *é*   *jòò*   *mú*   *ŋkɛ̀*   *mlé*
yesterday   3SG   wait   3SG   day   long
'Yesterday, I waited for him for a long time'

b.   *Ámá*   *è-n*   *yɔ́*   *fɛ̀ɛ̀-kpà*   *kɛ̀*
name   3SG-FUT   go   sell-place   tomorrow
'Ama will go to the market tomorrow'

B.   Duration adverbs convey the period an activity is carried out. They include.

| 94. | *lóŋó díá* | 'immediately/at once' |
| | *ŋkɛ̀éŋkɛ̀* | 'Every time/ all the time' |

The following example sentences illustrate how they are used.

95a.   *yá*   *jí*   *lóŋó*   *díá*
Go   eat   how   this
'Go and eat immediately/at once'

b.   *ŋkɛ̀é-ŋkɛ̀*   *é*   *yɔ́*   *lànɔ̀*
day-RED   1SG   go   there
'Every time I go home'

C.   Frequency adverbs tell the frequency with which an activity is done. They can occur either at the beginning or end of clauses. They include.

96.	*ŋkɛ̀éŋkɛ̀*	'every day'	*álɛ̀*	'again'
	ŋkɛ̀ kó	'sometimes'	*ŋkɛ̀róŋkɛ̀rɔ́*	'usually'
	kàkɛ̀ kó	'One day/someday'		

Example sentences they are used in are as follows.

97a. àní-n   làŋè   kán   bá   Australia   álὲ
      1PL-FUT   return SC   come   Australia   again
      'We will come to Australia again'

b.   ŋkὲ   kó   è   bá   nfèè
      day   INDEF   3SG   come   here
      'Sometimes he comes here'

D.   Specific time span adverbs denote exact periods when events take place. They include,

98. *kàkὲ*   'day'   *kàdèèwó*   'evening'

     flɛ́   'month / moon'   *kányáá*   'night'

     káfáánú   'year'   *kádéŋkèèrè*   'dawn'

     kàkná   'morning'   *bwàrè bá ŋkɛ́*   'raining season'

     kàpàà   'afternoon'

The speakers do not remember the names of the months in Dompo. They could also not provide all the names of the days of the week in the language. The days of the week have been presented in Nafaanra as well as in Ligbi in example (99) below. This is because the Dompos have stated that the versions in Dompo are similar to those in these two languages. The Dompos thus borrow the names of the days they do not remember from Nafaanra. Day names such as *tìní kàkὲ* 'Monday' and *nyɔ̀ɔ́ nyɔ̀ɔ́ ŋkὲ* 'Saturday' are, however, distinguished as Dompo names. *'nyɔ̀ɔ́ nyɔ̀ɔ́ ŋkὲ*, for instance, means 'two two day'. It is believed that on this day, if anything peculiar should happen to a person, that incident is likely to repeat itself.

	Day name	**Dompo**	**Nafaanra**	**Ligbi**
99.	Monday	*'tìní kàkὲ'*	*Atanta*	*Tɛlɛɛ*
	Tuesday	-	*Atlinta*	*Talata*
	Wednesday	-	*Alariba*	*Aruwa*
	Thursday	*'Àmúsà ŋkὲ'*	*Arimusa*	*Arimusa*
	Friday	*'Àjɔ́à kàkὲ'*	*Arijuma*	*Arijuma*
	Saturday	*'nyɔ̀ɔ́ nyɔ̀ɔ́ ŋkὲ'*	*Asifiti*	*Siviti*
	Sunday	-	*Alidu*	*Aliati*

Examples of sentences specific time span adverbs are used in include.

100a. *mí-n*   *làŋè*   *kán*   *bá*   *káfáánú*
       1SG-FUT   return   SC   come   year
       'I will come back next year'

b.   *àní-n*   *srέ*   *kàkná*
        1PL-FUT   meet   morning
        'We will meet in the morning'

E.   Expectancy adverbs indicate the level of expectancy with which activities are supposed to be done. Examples include.

       drà   'already'

       lóŋgó díá léé   'very soon'

Consider the following example sentences.

101a.   *kàbìà*   *wá*   *bà*   *nfèè*   *drà*
         child   DET   come   here   already
         'The child had come here already'

b.   *mí-n*   *féé*   *kàbò*   *wá*   *lóŋó*   *díá léé*
        1SG-FUT   sweep   place   DET   how   DEM
        'I will sweep this place very soon'

4.10.2 Morphosyntax of adverbs

Some adverbs in Dompo may be reduplicated. Adverbs are reduplicated to show duration, frequency or intensity. Observe the following monomorphemic words and their reduplicated versions in the examples below.

	Word	Meaning	Reduplication	Meaning
102.	*kèlὲ*	'true'	*kèlὲkèlὲ*	'very true'
	mlá	'quickly'	*mlámlá*	'very quickly'
	bwὲὲ	'slowly'	*bwὲὲbwὲὲ*	'very slowly'
	ŋkὲ	'day'	*ŋkὲέŋkὲ*	'every day'
	kámà	'nice'	*kámàkámà*	'very nicely'
	gbɔ́ɔ́	'big'	*gbɔ́gbɔ́ɔ́*	'very big'

Consider some example sentences below where either the monomorphemic adverb or its reduplicated version can fill the word final slot. Neither can occur clause initially. The reduplicated versions carry the extra meaning of intensity in the examples below.

103a.   *kàbìà*   *wá*   *jì*   *jí-sɔ́*   *wá*   *mlá / mlá-mlá*
         child   DET   eat   eat-thing   DET   quick/ quick-RED
         'The child ate the food quickly'

b.   *Kòfí*   *yúú*   *bù*   *wà*   *kámà/ kámà-kámà*
        Kofi   build   house   DET   nice/ nice-RED
        'Kofi built the house nicely'

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Some ideophones in Dompo may also function as adverbs that describe the duration of an event. This is illustrated in the example below. The use of the ideophone *chĩ́ĩ́* indicates the lengthened period of time with which the animals ate the termites that the elephant brought them. Ideophones are discussed in (§6.2).

104.   "*dòòwè*   *nɛ́*   *chằ*   *nɛ́*   *kòsì*   *fáárɔ́*   *bì*   *yàà*   *wɔ̀*
       Partridge   CONJ   guinea fowl   CONJ   fowl   bush   3PL   go   be at

       nɛ́   *sló*   *blá*   *bám.*   *kó*   *sló*   *blá*   *bám*   *wá,*[34]
       CONJ   elephant   raise   3PL   COND   elephant   raise   3PL   DET

       kákɛ́   *kó*   *è*   *yá*   *tíí*   *káŋká*   *kán*   *bá*   *wùrè*   *bán*
       day   INDEF   3SG   go   pluck   termites   SC   come   put   3PL

       krɔ́   *nɛ́*   *bì*   *jí*   *chĩ́ĩ́*   *kán*   *mùɛ̀*"
       side   CONJ   3PL   eat   IDEO   SC   satisfy

'The partridge, guinea fowl and chicken were being raised by the elephant. One day he brought them termites and they ate till they were satisfied'

(doy_20161118_37_EDD_NSAKMDKNANAK_Some folktales in Dompo #1)

The syntactic descriptions of distribution of adverbs in Dompo are that they may occur clause initially, as is depicted in (§4.10.2.1), clause finally as in (§4.10.2.2) or in both positions (§4.10.2.3). Adverbs cannot occur clause internally. More adverbs occur in the clause final only position. Manner adverbs tend to occur in this position. The following sections discuss the syntactic positions.

4.10.2.1   Clause initial only adverbs

These are adverbs that occur only at the beginning of the clause. The only adverbs that seem to occur only in clause initial positions are the temporal adverb *drà* 'already' and the modal adverb *nɛ́ é bíí* 'perhaps/maybe'. This latter phrase has the literal meaning 'if I know'. The /ɛ/ of the conditional marker *nɛ́* changes its feature to the /e/ of the following pronoun. The example below illustrates this.

105a.   *nɛ́*   *é*   *bíí*   *è-n*   *bá*   *kábrè*
        COND   1SG   know   3SG-FUT   come   today
        'Maybe/perhaps he will come today'

b.   *é*   *bɔ́*   *jí-sɔ́*   *drà*
        1SG   make   eat-thing   already
        'I have cooked food already'

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[34] *wá* is the definite article in Dompo. In this context, it is used as a temporal adverbial indicating the period when the elephant was raising the animals. It is thus similar to the use of *nó* in Akan which is used both as a definite determiner and in clauses to play various roles such as event determiners (Saah 2010: 94).

4.10.2.2   Clause final only adverbs

These are adverbs that occur only at the end of the clause. They include the manner adverbs *mlá/ mlámlá* 'quickly/very quickly', *bwèè/ bwèèbwèè* 'slowly/very slowly', *kámà/ kámàkámà* 'nicely/ very nicely', *lèlè* 'nicely/ very well', the frequency temporal adverb *álè* 'again', adverb of uncertainty, *péé* 'at all', the degree adverb, *lèlè* 'very much'. They are illustrated in the example sentences below.

106a. *bì   yúú   bán   kábò   kámà-kámà*
       3PL   build   3PL   place   nice-RED
       'They built their place (house) very nicely'

b.   *bɔ̀   mù   bwèè-bwèè*
       do   3SG   slow-RED
       'Do it very slowly'

c   *má-m   bá   álè*
       NEG-FUT   come   again
       'I will not come again'

d.   *né   bò   mbùlà   mné   kó   è   nyí   lá   péé?*
       if   river   full   who   INDEF   3SG   know   swim   at all
       'If the river overflows, who knows how to swim at all'

It will thus be ungrammatical to have sentences like the following in Dompo where these clause final adverbs occur in clause initial positions.

107a. * *bwèε-bwèè*   *bɔ̀*   *mù*
         slow-RED   do   3SG
       'Very slowly do it'

b.   * *álè*   *má-m*   *bá*
         again   NEG-FUT   come
       'Again, I will not come'

4.10.2.3   Both clause initial and clause final adverbs

These adverbs can occur either in the initial position or the final position. Examples of these include the temporal adverbs *ŋkèéŋkè* 'every day', *ŋkè kó* 'sometimes', *kèlè/ kèlèkèlè* 'truly', *kàkè kó* 'one day/someday'. These are shown in the following examples.

108a. *ŋkèé-ŋkè*   *nɔ́ɔ̀*   *ó*   *léé*   *nè*   *ò*   *bɔ́*
       day-RED   what   2SG   like   CONJ   2SG   do
       'Every day what would you like to do?'

b.   *pã̀   wá   lìré   ŋkèé-ŋkè*
       sun   DET   come out   day-RED
       'The sun comes out every day'

109a.   kὲlὲ-kὲlὲ   Ámá   mù   kó   è   sǒ   sǒ̋mì   wá
        true-RED   NAME   3SG   REL   3SG   do   work   DET
        'Truly Ama is the one who did the work'

b.   Ámá   è   sǒ   sǒ̋mì   wá   kὲlὲ-kὲlὲ
        Ama   3SG   do   work   DET   true-RED
        'Ama did the work truly'

It must be noted that the semantics of the clauses do not change even if the adverbs are in clause initial or final position.

Chapter 5: SENTENCE TYPES AND FUNCTIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the main types of sentences. Sentences are categorized into these types, according to the functions they carry out. Declaratives, also called statements, convey information. Imperatives or commands instruct others to do something. Questions or interrogatives ask questions. Declaratives are discussed in (§5.2), imperatives (§5.3) with subsections, prohibitive (§5.3.1) and hortative (§5.3.2). Questions are also discussed in (§5.4). Subsections include polar questions (§5.4.1) and tag questions (§5.4.1.1), Content questions follow in (§5.4.2). Some subsections include, alternative questions (§5.4.2.1.1) and coordinate questions (§5.4.2.1.2). Some uses of questions are treated in (§5.5). Subsections under this include, (§5.5.1), greeting questions (§5.5.2) and questions for more specification (§5.5.3). Topic and focus clause constructions are discussed in (§5.6), other subsections are, (§5.6.1), focus (§5.6.2), subject and object focus (§5.6.2.1), the formation of focus clause constructions (§5.6.2.2), adjunct focus (§5.6.2.3), focusing of complex phrases (§5.6.2.4), focusing of other syntactic categories (§5.6.2.5), verbs in focus (§5.6.2.5.1), adverbials in focus (§5.6.2.5.2) and adjectives in focus (§5.6.2.5.3).

5.2 Declarative sentences

Declarative sentences form the major sentence types in Dompo. They are formally unmarked and are used to transmit information. The word order of declarative sentences in Dompo is SVO. Functions that declaratives perform include attributing property, indicating location, identifying referents, stating facts and describing activities. Below are some sentences that illustrate these functions.

Attributing property

1a. *nyìnɛ̀ wá chúàlɛ́*
man DET good
'The man is good'

b. *Kòfí wɔ̀ ŋgrɛ̀*
NAME be at tall
'Kofi is tall'

Indicating location

2a. *è wɔ̀ Accra*
3SG be at Accra
'He is in Accra'

b. *é chìnà Dòmpò lànɔ̀*
1SG sit Dompo home
'I live in Dompofie'

Identifying referents

3a. *mí nyìnɛ́ lè Kòsí Mílà*
1SG name be NAME
'My name is Kosi Mila'

b. *ŋnà-pó lè Ámá*
show-person be NAME
'Ama is a teacher'

Stating facts

4. *káwí díá mù nyìné lè Dòmpò lànɔ̀*
    village DEM 3SG name be Dompo home
    'The name of this village is Dompofie'

Describing activities

5. *chèè wá è gblé bwɛ́ɛ̀-bwɛ̀ɛ̀*
    woman DET 3SG descend slow-RED
    'The woman descended very slowly'

Examples (1a and b) indicate the properties of *chúàlɛ́* 'good' and *ŋgrɛ̀* 'tall' exhibited by the subjects. Examples (2a and b) show the locations of the subjects as Accra and Dompofie. Examples (3a and b) also identify the name of the referent, Kòsí Mílà and Ámá as a teacher. The sentence that states existing fact is exemplified in example (4) while example (5) describes the activity of slow descent by the woman. Declarative sentences not only affirm statements, they also negate statements. Observe this in the following examples.

6a. *nyìnè wá mìn chúàlɛ́*
     man DET NEG good
     'The man is not good'

b. *é mín chìnà Dòmpò lànɔ̀*
    1SG NEG sit Dompo home
    'I do not live in Dompofie'

In as much as declarative sentences are used in simple sentence constructions, they can also be used in complex sentence structures with dependent and independent clauses. Such complex constructions, which are discussed in detail in the sections in brackets, include relative clauses (§8.2.1), complement clauses (§8.2.2), adverbial clauses (§8.2.3), coordinate clauses (§8.3) and serial verbs (§8.4). Consider the examples below.

Serial Verb Construction

7a. *Ámà hlé kán yɔ́ jùlà-kpà*
     NAME run SC go learn-place
     'Ama ran to school'

Complement clause construction

b. *é jáá fnɛ́ mín bá tù wó lànɔ̀*
    1SG think COMP 1SG-FUT come meet 2SG home
    'I thought that I would come and meet you at home'

Relative clause construction

c. *é tín wù nyìnè [kó è yɔ́ ndɔ̀ɔ̀-rɔ́ wá]*
    1SG BE.ABLE see man REL 3SG go farm-SFX DET
    'I can see the man who went to the farm'

Coordinate clause construction

d. | *Kòfí* | *kpàrèè* | *bù* | *wá* | *nὲ* | *Ámá* | *fèè* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NAME | clean | room | DET | CONJ | NAME | sweep |

'Kofi cleaned the room and Ama swept'

Adverbial clause construction

e. | *né* | *Kòfí* | *bà* | *nfèè* | *mí-n* | | *brí* | *mú* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| COND | NAME | come | here | 1SG-FUT | | beat | 3SG |

'If (when) Kofi comes here, I will beat him'

f. | *mí-n* | | *brí* | *Kòfí* | *né* | *è* | *bá* | *nfèè* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG-FUT | | beat | NAME | COND | 3SG | come | here |

'I will beat Kofi when (if) he comes here'

One main way serialization is expressed in Dompo is by the use of the serial connector *kán* which occurs between the two verbs. Serial verbs in Dompo may either be a single action made up of multiple verbs or separate actions that occur one after the other. *fnὲ* serves as the only complementizer in Dompo. It succeeds the verb *jáá* 'think' in the complementizer clause as can be seen in example (7b) above. The relativizer *kó* is used in relative clauses to mark both object and subject relative clauses. The above example in (c) is an instance of subject relativization. The head noun is in subject function in the relative clause. Subject relativization is here used to refer to the role of relativized noun phrase in the relative clause. *nὲ* conjoins two separate phrases. Coordination is done with this marker in phrases such as noun phrases, adjectival phrases and relative clause. The marker *né* which also serves as a conditional marker is additionally used to express temporal adverbs. In example (e), the sentence has more of a conditional inference. On the other hand, in example (f) when the clauses are swapped, the conditional marker has an adverbial inference instead.

5.3 Imperative sentences

Imperatives are sentences that are commands or directives uttered by the speaker to the addressee to get the latter to do something. As is the case cross-linguistically, imperatives are addressed to the second person in Dompo. There are different imperative constructions for singular and plural addressees. While the 2SG addressee is not overtly mentioned in imperative constructions, the 2PL addressee is overtly present. Observe the following examples in (8a-d) where these imperatives are directed towards a single addressee who is not overtly marked in any of the sentences and who might be younger than the speaker.

8a.	*chìná*	*nɔ́*		b.	*chò*	*nfèè*
	sit	there			pass	here
	'Sit there!'				'Pass here!'	

c.	*yìlí*			d.	*kὲὲ*	*kájá*	*wá*
	stand				take	chair	DET
	'Stop!'				'Take the chair!'		

The following examples, however, state explicitly the people the speaker is addressing the orders towards. This supports the point made earlier that in imperatives, the 2PL pronoun addressees, who are in the plural, have to be explicitly stated. The commands may also be accompanied by hand gestures. Consider the following examples.

9a. *bì* *yílí*   b. *bì* *káá*
    2PL stand   2PL wake
    'You (pl) stop!'   'You (pl) rise/wake'

Imperatives may also involve serial verbs that occur without any conjoining element. The speaker may give a command to either the 2SG addressee or 2PL addressees. The examples below illustrate this.

10a. *yà* *jrɛ́*   b. *kàà* *yìlí*
     go   bath   wake   stand
     'Go and take your bath!'   'stand up!'

c. *bì* *káá* *n-yɔ̀*
   3PL wake SC-go
   'You (pl) stand up and go!'

To mitigate the threat to the face when direct imperatives are used, speakers may also employ politeness markers. These include *é kúlé wó* 'I beg you / please', and address terms such as *chèè núm* 'old woman', *nyìnè nûm* 'old man', *mí bí* 'my child'. These markers may be used when talking to elderly addressees or to people the speaker may not want to lose face with. The politeness markers can also be combined with the address forms in a construction such as can be seen in example (11c) below. It can be observed in example (11a) that with the presence of the politeness marker, the 2SG object marker is also present in the construction. The following exemplifies the use of these strategies.

11a. *é* *kúlé* *wó* *chò* *nfèè*
     1SG beg   2SG pass here
     'Lit. I beg you. Please pass here'

b. *chèè*   *núm* *bɔ̀* *mù*   *mlá-mlá*
   woman   old   make 3SG   quick-RED
   'Lit. Do it very quickly, elderly woman (madam)'

c. *chèè*   *núm* *é*   *kúlé* *wó*   *bɔ̀* *mù*   *mlá-mlá*
   woman   old   1SG   beg   2SG   make 3SG   quick-RED
   'Lit. Please do it very quickly, elderly woman (madam)'

5.3.1 *Prohibitive*

Prohibitive is a negative type of imperative used by the speaker to order the addressee not to do something. In Dompo, the basic negative particle *mà* 'not' is used along with the verb to carry out this form of imperative. This might, however, change depending on what aspectual markings

might be present in the sentence as can be seen in example (12c) below. Observe some examples of prohibitive sentences below.

12a. ó   má   yɔ́   nɔ́
     2SG   NEG   go   there
     'Do not go there!'

b. ó   má   bàà   brà   mí   sɔ́   wá
   2SG   NEG   come   bring   1SG   thing   DET
   'Do not bring me that thing!'

c. ó   má-n   dàŋà   ó   hálé   mí   sɔ́   wá   wó
   2SG   NEG-FUT   put   2SG.POSS   hand   1SG.POSS   thing   DET   on
   'Lit. 'Do not put your hand on my thing' or 'Never touch my thing!'

d. bí   má-n   yɔ́   jùlà-kpà
   2PL   NEG-FUT   go   learn-place
   'You (pl) do not go to school'

Note that unlike the imperative, the prohibitive must have a 2SG subject pronoun *ó* reference explicitly stated. In the examples above, the negative marker *mà* is used in (12a and b) to convey a warning to the addressee not to do the actions described by the verbs. In both examples, one can infer that the speaker is directly having an ongoing exchange with the addressee and thus serves the warnings as a result of what the addressee might or might not have done. In example (c), however, we can notice that the negative marker has the future marker /n/ attached to it. It can be inferred that the speaker's warning to the addressee has a future connotation in which the addressee is expected not to ever touch anything belonging to the speaker. The 2PL subject is overtly marked in prohibitive constructions as well. This is seen in example (d).

5.3.2 *Hortative*

This is a kind of imperative where the speaker urges, rather than explicitly commands the addressee to perform an action together with the former. If there is more than one addressee, the 2PL pronoun is stated to show this, as example (c) illustrates. A speaker may also refer to another subject who coerced others, including him, to carry out a particular action. This is depicted in example (d). The morpheme *yí* 'let/make' is used to express the hortative in Dompo. When *yí* begins a sentence in which the /y/ is not found between two vowels, the /y/ is absent in the construction. This can be seen in examples (13a and b). The presence of /y/ seems to be triggered by /y/ occurring in an intervocalic environment, as is evident in example (c). Notice also that the 1PL *á*, influences the *ɛ* of the conjunction *nɛ̀* to change to be like it. The following sentences exemplify this form of prohibitive.

13a. í   nà   á   yɔ́   ndɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ́
     let   CONJ   1PL   go   farm-SFX
     'Let us go to the farm'

b. *í*   *nà*   *á*   *bɔ́*   *jí-sɔ́*   *kán*   *hã̀*   *bam*
    let   CONJ   1PL   make   eat-thing   SC   give   3PL
    'Let us make food for them'

c. *bí*   *yí*   *nà*   *á*   *kúlé*   *Gbárèngò*
    2PL   let   CONJ   1PL   beg   God
    'Lit. Let us pray'

d. *è*   *yí*   *nà*   *á*   *jí*   *jí-sɔ́*   *wá*
    3SG   let   CONJ   1PL   eat   eat-thing   DET
    'He let/made us eat the food'

5.4 Questions

Questions are sentence types used to seek information, make requests and to make confirmations or denials. They are interactional in nature. Dompo employs certain mechanisms in asking questions. The use of the particle *à* at the end of an utterance can turn a declarative statement into a question. Other question particles may be used to ask questions. Questions are divided into two main types. They are Polar or Yes/No questions, discussed in (§5.4.1) and Content Questions, treated in (§5.4.2). Some subtypes of these questions namely tag questions, alternative questions and coordinate questions, are explored in (§5.4.1.1, §5.4.2.1.1 and §5.4.2.1.2). Some uses of questions are further examined in (§5.5).

5.4.1   Polar or Yes/No Questions

Polar questions, also known as propositional questions, are questions asked the addressee in anticipation of a positive or negative response. While some Kwa languages of Ghana may employ only intonation or prosody to mark interrogatives (Tuwuli, Harley 2005; Logba, Dorvlo 2008; Tafi, Bobuafor 2013; Nkami, Asante 2016), Dompo marks them using a clause final particle *à*. This question particle is also discussed in (§6.4.4). Consider the following polar questions in the examples in (a) and their prospective answers in (b).

14a. *ó-n*   *kwíí*   *kpá*   *kè*   *à?*
      2SG-FUT   cut   road   tomorrow   Q
      'Will you travel tomorrow?'

b.   *ɛ̀ɛ́*   *mín*   *kwíí*   *kpá*   *kè*
      INTJ   1SG-FUT   cut   road   tomorrow
      'Yes, I will travel tomorrow'

15a. *Ámá*   *è*   *bá*   *à?*
      NAME   3SG   come   Q
      'Has Ama come'?

b.   *dààbí* *Ámá*   *mìn*   *bá*
      INTJ   NAME   NEG   come
      'No, Ama has not come'

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16a. *jí-sɔ́*   *wá*   *wɔ̀*   *blɛ̀*   *à?*
      eat-thing   DET   be   tasty   Q
      'Is the food tasty?'

b. *jí-sɔ́*   *wá*   *màá*   *blɛ́*
      eat-thing   DET   NEG   tasty
      'The food is not tasty'

In Dompo, polar questions cannot be formed without the use of the particle *à* at the end of the utterance (see §6.4.4 where the examples are from text). This particle, said on a low tone distinguishes between a declarative and a question. The questions in examples (a) above require either yes or no answers. The affirmative marker *ɛ̀ɛ́* is used to affirm questions while the marker, *dààbí*, derived from Akan is the denial marker. It is possible for a polar question to be answered without the initial affirmative or denial particles. Example (16b) illustrates this.

In addition to the conventional *ɛ̀ɛ́* 'yes' and *dààbí* 'no' answers to polar questions, Dompo also makes use of other standard phrases such as *lŏ nà/ mù nà* 'that is it' to affirm questions and *é mín nyí* 'I do not know' to avoid committing to an answer. Observe the questions in example (17a and c) and some possible answers in (b and d) respectively.

17a. *Kòfí* *è*   *mìn*   *hɛ̃́*   *wò*   *jí-sɔ́.*   *màà*   *mú*   *nà*   *à?*
     NAME 3SG   NEG   give   2SG   eat-food   NEG   3SG   FOC   Q
     'Kofi has not given you food. Is that not it (so)?'

b. *lŏ*   *nà*   /   *mù*   *nà*
    that   FOC   3SG   FOC
    'That is it'   'It is (so)'

18a. *àní-n*   *tín*   *yɔ̀*   America   *kàkɛ̀*   *kó*   *à?*
     1PL-FUT   BE.ABLE   go   America   day   INDEF   Q
     'Can we go to America one day?'

b. *é*   *mín*   *nyí*   *mú*
    1SG   NEG   know   3SG
    'I do not know it'

In example (17b) above, the addressee makes this statement to emphasize exactly what the reference did not do. Note that the answer in (17b) can also contain the conventional *ɛ̀ɛ́* 'yes' and *dààbí* 'no' answers which will occur first before the phrase. In the reply to the question in (18a), the answer in (b) reflects the state of unknowingness on the part of the addressee who cannot answer either yes or no to the question but the fact that he is unsure what the future holds.

5.4.1.1 Tag questions

Tag questions are used to confirm statements by employing the formulaic negative tag *màá lŏ nà* 'is that not so', in combination with the question particle *à*. Thus, the speaker makes a positive statement and to seek further confirmation from the addressee, the former uses this negative polar question that ends with the question particle. Observe some examples below.

19a. *ó   brà   mí   yìsòòrè kàbrè.   màá   lŏ   nà   à?*
      2SG   bring   1SG   rice   today   NEG   that   FOC   Q
      'You brought me rice today is that not so?'

b.   *èέ   é   brà   wó   yìsòórè kábrè*
      yes   1SG   bring   2SG   rice   today
      'Yes, I have brought you rice today'

20a. *ó-n   féé   nfèè.   màá   lŏ   nà   à?*
      2SG-FUT   sweep   here   NEG   that   FOC   Q
      'You will sweep here is that not so?'

b.   *dààbí   é   mí-n   féé   nfèè   /   dààbí   màá   lŏ   nà*
      INTJ   1SG   NEG-FUT   sweep   here   INTJ   NEG   that   FOC
      'No, I will not sweep here'   'No, that is not it'

Example (19a) was uttered by the speaker who had requested the addressee bring her some rice. Upon seeing the addressee, she was full of anticipation and thus asked the question. Example (19b) is the addressee's response to the question. Example (20a) was also used by the speaker to further confirm from the addressee whether she will do as has already been agreed or not. The addressee's response in example (b) shows the opposite of what the speaker is expecting to hear. The alternative response contains the negative affirmation *dààbí* and the negative marker also.

5.4.2   Content Questions

Content words in Dompo use specific interrogative words to seek information from the addressee. They also, in turn, require more detailed responses than are required from asking polar questions, where the basic answers required are either yes or no. Some of the responses to content questions focus on the identity of a person, the location of an activity, the manner in which something is done and the reason for doing something. Content questions in Dompo exhibit the same pitch level as declarative sentences. Word order can be changed to make the focus of the question clearer. Thus, content question pronouns may occur clause initially, either precede or succeed the noun or pronoun or remain in in situ position. Note that the emphatic particle *péé* 'at all' may occur after all these pronouns and as a unit, they may occur either clause initially or finally. The question pronouns used in asking content questions in Dompo are as follows.

21.   *mnέ*   who, which

      nɔ́ɔ̀   what

      ntì   how, what, why

      ʄnὲ   how many, how much

      nέnέ/ nɔ́nɔ́   where

Observe some interrogative sentences and examine the positions of the content question pronouns *mnέ* 'who, which' and *ʄnὲ* 'how much'.

22a.   *mnɛ́*   *kó*   *è*   *bɔ́*   *sɔ̌mì*   *wá*   *ó*   *krɔ́?*
       who   FOC   3SG   do   work   DET   2SG   side
       'Who did the work for you?'

b.   *nyìnè*   *mnɛ́*   *kó*   *è*   *bá*   *nfèè?*
       man   who   FOC   3SG   come   here
       'Which man came here?'

c.   *mù*   *láà*   *wɔ̀*   *fnè*   *(péé)?*
       3SG   price   be   how much   PART
       'How much is it/ What is its price (at all)?'

In example (22a), the content question marker *mnɛ́* occurs word initially. It also occurs after the main noun, *nyìnè* which is questioned in (b). The interrogative pronoun is part of the subject noun phrase in this example. *fnè* occurs in word final position in (c) because the particle *péé* (which is the final element) is an optional element in the sentence. The sections that follow discuss the content question pronouns in detail.

5.4.2.1 mnɛ́   'who, which'

The interrogative *mnɛ́* is used to make enquiries about the identity of a person, place, or when an activity will take place. The interrogative may occur either clause initially or after the main noun. This does not have an impact on the meaning of the clause. Observe some examples of content questions in (a) and their possible answers in (b) below.

23a.   *shìà*   *mnɛ́*   *ó*   *knì?*
       person   who   2SG   look
       'Who are you looking for?'

b.   *Richmond*   *é*   *knì*
       NAME   1SG   look
       'I am looking for Richmond'

24a.   *mnɛ́*   *kó*   *è*   *yúrí*   *ŋɔ̀sré*   *wá?*
       who   FOC   3SG   steal   money   DET
       'Who stole the money?'

b.   *Kòfí*   *mù*   *kó*   *è*   *yúrí*   *ŋɔ̀sré*   *wá*
       NAME   3SG   FOC   3SG   steal   money   DET
       'Kofi is the one who stole the money'

25a.   *kàntètè* *mnɛ́*   *kó*   *è*   *jí*   *jísɔ́*   *wá*   *péé?*
       dog   which   FOC   3SG   eat   eat-thing   DET   PART
       'Which dog ate the food (at all)?'

b.   *kàntètè* *fúflú*   *wá*   *mù*   *kó*   *è*   *jí*   *jí-sɔ́*   *wá*
       dog   white   DET   3SG   REL   3SG   eat   eat-thing   DET
       'The white dog is the one which ate the food'

Examples (23a, 24a and 25a) illustrate the use of the content question pronoun *mné* that occurs after the main noun *shìà* 'person', in ex situ position in (23a) and after the main noun *kàntètè* 'dog' in example (25a). The language places prominence on the initial noun in a clause. This noun is the main subject of interest and is thus fronted when asking questions relating to it. The examples in (23b, 24b and 25b) are the possible responses to the questions. The main nouns fronted in the responses goes to show the importance of the noun in the language. (see §5.6.2 for a discussion on focus). *kó* plays the role of both a focus marker and a relativizer in some of the sentences above.

The content question pronoun *mné* in example (26a) means 'which'. 'Which day' thus receives a temporal interpretation and connotes the period during which an event is likely to take place. The pronoun occurs after the temporal adverb while in the alternate construction, it is in clause final position. The possible response to these questions is shown in (b).

26a. *ŋkè   mné   àní-n   yó   Accra? / àní-n   yó   Accra   ŋkè   mné?*
       day   which   1PL-FUT   go   Accra   1PL-FUT   go   Accra   day   which
       'Which day will we go to Accra?'   'We will go to Accra which day?'

b.   *tìní   kàkè   àní-n   yó   Accra*
       Monday   day   1PL-FUT   go   Accra
       'We will go to Accra on Monday'

5.4.2.1.1 Alternative questions

These are sub types of content questions that involve the use of the alternative conjunction *núú* /*chénúú* 'or' (see §8.3.3) which is used to join two clauses. In asking alternate questions, the speaker gives the addressee the option of choosing one idea over another. The conjunctions *núú* or *chénúú* can be used either separately or together. It is not clear what is the reason for the variation. What has been established is the fact that the speakers use the words interchangeably. Note that question pronoun *mné* can be used clause initially to alter the question. This is exemplified in example (27b and 27b). The answers to alternative questions may be of two kinds. The questions in examples (27a and 28a) require the answers in example (27c and 28c). The answer has to state which of the alternative options in the question the addressee has chosen. It is also appropriate to put the selected referent answer in a sentence form. On the other hand, the questions in examples (27b and 28b) require the answer either *Ama* or *Kofi* or *Kofi or ó níí* 'your mother'. These answers need not be put in a sentence structure. Consider these in the examples below.

27a. *Ámá   ón   sừà   núú chénúú   Kofi   ón   sừà?*
       NAME   2SG-FUT   send   CONJ   NAME   2SG-FUT   send
       'Will you send Ama or Kofi?'

b.   *mné   ón   sừà.   Ámá   núú chénúú   Kòfí?*
       who   2SG-FUT   send   NAME   CONJ   NAME
       'Who will you send. Ama or Kofi?'

c.   *Ámá*   *mín*   *sǜà*
        NAME   1SG-FUT   send
        'I will send Ama'

28a.   *ó*   *yá*   *tù*   *Kòfí*   *núú*   *mí*   *níí*   *wɔ̀*   *lánɔ̀*
        2SG   go   meet   NAME CONJ 1SG.POSS   mother be at house
        'Did you meet Kofi or my mother in the house?'

b.   *mnɛ́*   *ó*   *yá*   *tù*   *wɔ̀*   *lánɔ̀.* *Kòfí* *núú*   *mí*   *níí?*
        who   2SG   go   meet   be at   house NAME CONJ 1SG.POSS   mother
        'who did you meet at the house, Kofi or my mother?'

c.   *ó*   *níí*   *é*   *yá*   *tù*
        2SG   mother 1SG   go   meet
        'I met your mother'

The examples above show the use of the alternative conjunction markers in Dompo. Either is used in an alternative construction to present the addressee with options. It can be observed that in Dompo, even if the two clauses have the same verb, the verb may or may not be repeated in the second clause as can be seen in example (27a and 28a) where *sǜà* 'send' is repeated in the second clause and *tù* 'meet' is not repeated but could also be.

5.4.2.1.2   *Coordinate Questions*

Coordinate questions employ the use of the coordinator *nè* 'and' to join two question clauses (see §8.3.1). These two clauses both contain the content question pronoun *mnɛ́*. Observe the following examples where example (29a) is the declarative sentence and example (b) is derived from it, using the question pronoun *mnɛ́* 'which'. Example (d) is a possible response to the question in (b). The fronted noun *bù* 'room' and the question particle *mnɛ́* 'which' can be omitted in the second clause mainly because it is the same object type that is being talked about. This is exemplified in (c) below. Observe these in the examples below.

29a.   *Kòfí*   *kpàrèè* *bù*   *wá*   *nè*   *Ámà*   *fèè*
        NAME clean   room DET   CONJ   NAME sweep
        'Kofi cleaned the room and Ama swept'

b.   *bù*   *mnɛ́*   *Kòfí*   *kpàrèè* *nè*   *bù*   *mnɛ́*   *Ámà*   *fèè*
        room which NAME clean   CONJ   room which NAME sweep
        'Which room did Kofi clean and which room did Ama sweep'?

c.   *bù*   *mnɛ́*   *Kòfí*   *kpàrèè* *nè*   *Ámà*   *fèè*
        room which NAME clean   CONJ   NAME sweep
        'Which room did Kofi clean and Ama sweep'

d.   *Kòfí*   *kpàrèè* *bù*   *kàchèé* *wá*   *nè*   *Ámà*   *fèè*   *bù*   *gbɔ̀ɔ̀*   *wá*
        NAME clean   room small   DET   CONJ   NAME sweep room big   DET
        'Kofi cleaned the small room and Ama cleaned the big room'

5.4.2.2 nɔ́ɔ̀ 'what'

The interrogative pronoun *nɔ́ɔ̀* is used to seek information about situations that the speaker might not be privy to. This pronoun may occur clause initially. *sɔ́* 'thing' may occur after the question pronoun *nɔ́ɔ̀* 'what' in examples (30a and 31a). In this case, the pronoun may occur after *sɔ́* 'thing'. The following examples show the questions in (30a, 31a and 32a). Some possible answers are demonstrated in the (b) examples.

30a. *nɔ́ɔ̀*   *ó*   *wù*
     what   2SG   see
     'What do you see?'

b. *é*   *wù*   *klɔ́*   *pɛ̀pré*   *wá*
    1SG   see   car   red   DET
    'I see the red car'

31a. *nɔ́ɔ̀*   *sɔ́*   *ó*   *knì*   *péé*
     what   thing   2SG   look   PART
     'What thing are you looking for (at all)?'

b. *mí*   *kòsì*   *kó*   *é*   *kní*
    1SG.POSS   fowl   FOC   1SG   look
    'It is my fowl I am looking for'

32a. *nɔ́ɔ̀*   *ó*   *léé*   *nɛ̀*   *ò*   *fɛ́*
     what   2SG   want   CONJ   2SG   sell
     'What do you want to sell?'

b. *é*   *léé*   *nìn*   *fɛ́*   *dàŋgrà*
    1SG   want   CONJ-1SG-FUT   sell   groundnut
    'I want to sell groundnut'

5.4.2.3 ntì 'how, what, why'

ntì is used to ask questions that are directly related to the addressee or enquire about issues that the speaker would like to have more knowledge about. The speaker might also seek to enquire about how the addressee undertook a particular action. This content question may occur either sentence initially or finally. Observe some examples below.

33a. *ntí*   *kàbré*   *è*   *dù?*
     how   today   3SG   plant
     'How are you? (Lit. how is today's growth)'

b. *kàbré*   *è*   *bɔ̀*   /   *kàbré*   *è*   *chùàlɛ́*
    today   3SG   make   today   3SG   good
    'Lit. 'Today is made'   'Today is good'

34a. *ó*   *yɛ́*   *ntí?*   /   *ntì*   *ó*   *yɛ̀?*
     2SG   say   what   what   2SG   say
     'You said what?'   'What did you say?'

b. | é | yè | kè | mín | yɔ́ | ndɔ̀ɔ̀-rɔ́ |
    |---|---|---|---|---|---|
    | 1SG | say | tomorrow | 1SG-FUT | go | farm-SFX |

‘I said tomorrow I will go to the farm’

35a. | ntì | ó | bɔ́ | kán | bá | nfèè? |
     |---|---|---|---|---|---|
     | how | 2SG | do | SC | come | here |

‘How did you come here?’

b. | gbáŋá | é | díí | kán | bá |
    |---|---|---|---|---|
    | bicycle | 1SG | climb | SC | come |

‘I came by bicycle’

The above examples illustrate how the question pronoun *ntì* is used in the questions in examples (33a, 34a and 35a) above. The examples in (b) indicate possible answers to these questions. Worthy of particular mention is the answer to question (33a) which is found in example (34b). This response is the formulaic response given to this greeting.

ntì is also used to enquire about the motive of the addressee in doing something. It can also be observed that *péé* has largely become part of the construction of *ntì* especially in contexts where the speaker cannot seem to fathom why something is the way it is. *péé* mainly occurs after the question pronoun in either clause initial or final position. In this instance, the combination occurs clause initially. (see §6.4.3 for a discussion on this particle). Consider the following examples.

36a. | ntì | péé | nέ | ó | sǔ? |
     |---|---|---|---|---|
     | why | PART | CONJ | 2SG | cry |

‘Why (at all) are you crying?’

b. | sèn | kò | kó | è | báhé | mí | mù | nè | é | sǔ |
    |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
    | issue | INDEF | FOC | 3SG | worry | 1SG | 3SG | CONJ | 1SG | cry |

‘I am crying because of an issue that is bothering me’

37a. | ó | krέ | nyá | kán | bá | jùlàkpà | ntì | péé? |
     |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
     | 2SG | delay | get | sc | come | learn-place | why | PART |

‘Why did you come to school late?’

b. | jrὲ | é | jrέ | mù | kó | è | yí | nè | é | krέ |
    |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
    | bath | 1SG | bath | 3SG | FOC | 3SG | make | CONJ | 1SG | delay |

‘I was bathing and that is why I was late’

The emphatic particle *péé* has become a part of the content question marker in certain contexts, so much so that the sentence does not sound right if it is not present. This is seen in examples (36a and 37a). It must be noted that in example (36a), the combination *ntì péé* can occur in the sentence initial position as well.

5.4.2.4 fnὲ 'how many, how much'

This question pronoun is used in asking questions relating to the quantity of items or people. This marker can occur either sentence initially, finally or after the main noun. The emphatic particle *péé* can also occur after *fnὲ* to create more emphasis. The following are some illustrative examples.

38a. *bà-shìà*   *fnɛ̀*   *péɛ́*   *bì*   *wɔ̀*   *lànɔ̀*   *wá*   *rɔ́?*
    PL-person   how many   PART   3PL   be at   house   DET   POST
    'How many people are in the house?'

b. *bà-shìà*   *sá*   *bì*   *wɔ̀*   *lànɔ̀*   *wá*   *rɔ́*
    PL-person   three   3PL   be at   house   DET   POST
    'There are three people in the house'

39a. *kàlò*   *fnɛ̀*   *kó*   *è*   *wɔ̀*   *káwí*   *díá*   *rɔ́?*
    house   how many   REL   3SG   be at   village   DEM   POST
    'How many houses are in this village?'

b. *kàlò*   *làfà*   *nɛ́*   *nùí*   *è*   *wɔ̀*   *káwí*   *díá*   *rɔ́*
    house   hundred   CONJ   five   3SG   be at   village   DEM   POST
    'There are a hundred and five houses in this village'

Examples (38a and 39a) are interrogative sentences in which the speaker uses *fnɛ̀* to ask the addressee about the number of items. The addressee's responses are illustrated in examples (38b and 39b). *fnɛ̀* is also used to enquire about the price or the quantity of items as is shown in examples (40 and 41a). Responses to these questions are illustrated in examples (40b and 41b).

40a. *mù*   *láá*   *wɔ̀*   *fnɛ̀*   *péɛ́?*
    3SG   price   be at   how much   PART
    'How much is it?'

b. *mù*   *láá*   *wɔ̀*   *million*   *kòólè*   *nè*   *bà*
    3SG.POSS   price   be at   million   one   CONJ   half
    'Its price is five hundred cedis'

41a. *fnɛ̀*   *ón*   *tɔ́?*
    how much   2SG-FUT   buy
    'How much will you buy?'

b. *mín*   *tɔ́*   *pɛ́prɛ́[35]*   *nyɔ̃̀*
    1SG-FUT   buy   red   two
    'I will buy two cedis worth'

5.4.2.5 *nɛ́nɔ́/ nɔ́nɔ́*   'where'

This interrogative is used to ask questions about the location of entities. The reason for the variation in this word has not been established. It has, however, been noticed that they are used interchangeably. It occurs sentence initially. The following are some examples where examples (42a, 43a and 44a) are questions posed by the speaker and examples (b) are possible responses from the addressee.

42a. *nɛ́nɔ́*   *ó*   *lìrè?*
    where   2SG   from
    'Where are you from?'

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[35] *pɛ́prɛ́* 'red' is used to describe the colour of the one-cedi currency note which is red. The colour of the currency has thus been extended to represent the currency in the Dompo language.

b.   *ndɔ̀ɔ̀-rɔ́*   *é*   *lìrè*
    farm-SFX   1SG   from
    'I am from the farm'

43a.   *nɔ́nɔ́*   *ó*   *wɔ́*   *kán*   *chíná?*
    where   2SG   be at   SC   sit
    'Where do you live?'

b.   *é*   *chìnà*   *Dompo lánɔ̀*
    1SG   sit   Dompo house
    'I live in Dompofie'

44a.   *nɔ́nɔ́*   *Ámá*   *wɔ̀?*
    where   NAME   be at
    'Where is Ama?'

b.   *Ámá*   *è*   *yɔ́*   *fɛ̂ɛ̀-kpà*
    NAME   3SG   go   sell-place
    'Ama has gone to the market'

5.5 Some uses of questions

Questions are asked for a number of reasons. Below is a discussion of some uses of questions and the roles they play in the interactions of interlocuters.

5.5.1   Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions are questions that the speaker may ask him or herself, or directly pose to an addressee(s) involved in the interlocution. A rhetorical question may also not be directed towards anyone in particular. The addressee(s) of a rhetorical question are not expected to provide any explicit answer to the question. Polar or content questions may be employed in asking rhetorical questions. Example (45) is a conversation between two of my consultants about the activities of the cat. A cat, which belonged to a neighbor, had gone to eat a chunk of fish that was being roasted on the fire. The owner of the meat then shouted in anger at the cat's owner and told the latter to restrain her cat, else there would be consequences. Mr. Mila, who overheard this exchange between the two women, then uttered this rhetorical question to Mr. Nakpa.

45.   *kàntètè*   *nó*   *ó*   *blá*   *mú*   *ó*   *nyí*   *kpá*   *kó*   *è*   *jí*   *à?*
    cat   COND   2SG   raise   3SG   2SG   know   place   REL   3SG   eat   Q
    'If you are raising a cat do you know where it eats from?'

Mr Nakpa, in turn, was not expected to know the answer to this question, neither was he expected to answer it. It is, however, general knowledge that most cats reared in rural contexts such as the ones in Dompofie have to fend for themselves. They can thus eat from anywhere they find food that is left unprotected.

Example (46) highlights the rhetorical question, *mù brábrà míà* 'is he my co-equal'? It is an extract from a folktale in which the chameleon built his village and the elephant came to live by

him. Over time, the chameleon noticed that the elephant wanted it to forcefully relocate. This utterance was thus uttered by the chameleon to itself. This statement highlights the frustrations of the chameleon. By asking this rhetorical question whether the elephant is its co-equal, it can be assumed that the chameleon is reiterating its status, not in size but in the fact that it was the one that first settled and built the village before the elephant came.

46. | *'míà?* | *míà* | *kó* | *míà* | *téé* | *míà* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG.IND | 1SG.IND | REL | 1SG.IND | establish | 1SG.IND |

kàbò	*nè*	*mù*	*bá*	*chìnà*	*míà*	*kèlɔ́.*	*mù*
place	CONJ	2SG	come	stay	1SG.IND	beside.	3SG

brábrà	*míà*?'
co-equal	1SG

'Me? I who have built my place and he has come to stay beside me? Am I his co-equal?'

(doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_Some folktales and idioms #11).

5.5.2 *Greeting questions*

These are formulaic and interactional questions that the speaker asks about the general welfare of the addressee and his or her family when the interactants meet. These questions can be both polar and content. For instance, example (25a) is a polar question which requires a yes or no answer but is most of the times answered with a yes because it is assumed that once people are alive, all is well with them. This response is shown in example (47b). Example (48a), however, is a content question which requires some further answers from the addressee. A possible reply as can be seen in example (48b) could entail the fact that the day has either been good or not. It is almost probable that everyone asked this question might answer in the positive, since people are not likely to reveal all the things that might not be going right with them to the speaker. A response in the negative from the addressee might be to someone whom the addressee shares a close relationship with. The conversation thereof might transcend beyond the adjacency pair type and move into a detailed one depending on the initial answer given.

47a. | *bí* | *kàà* | *fóófó* | *à?* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3PL | wake | well | Q |

'Did you wake up well?'

b. | *ɛ́ɛ́* | *á* | *kàà* | *fóófó* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Yes | 1PL | wake | well |

'Yes, we woke up well'

48a. | *ntí* | *kàbré* | *è* | *dù* |
|---|---|---|---|
| how | today | 3SG | plant |

'How are you?' (Lit. how is today's growth)

b. | *kàbré* | *è* | *chùàlé* | / | *kàbré* | *mìn* | *chùàlé* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| today | 3SG | good | | today | NEG | good |

'Today is good'   'Today is not good'

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5.5.3 Questions for more specification

These are content questions that seek to confirm what the speaker has already said but the addressee might not have grasped the first-time round. Thus, the speaker reiterates what he or she said with further specifications to enable the addressee to understand better. This clarification could be a better description of an item, a place or an activity. Observe the following examples.

49a. *brà   mí   kɛ̀ɛ̂-sɔ̀   bíbrí   wá*
    bring   1SG   write-thing   black   DET
    'Bring me the black pen'

b. *kɛ̀ɛ̂-sɔ̀   bíbrí   mnɛ́?*
   write-thing   black   which
   'Which black pen?'

c. *kó   è   wɔ̀   táblò   wá   wó*
   REL   3SG   be at   table   DET   POST
   'The one which is on the table'

50a. *kàntètè nyɔ̌   áná   jòò   bám*
    dog   two   PL   chase   3PL
    'Chase the two dogs away'

b. *kàntètè nyɔ̌   mnɛ́?*
   dog   two   which
   'Which two dogs?'

c. *Mr. Mila   kántètè nyɔ̌   áná*
   NAME   dog   two   QUANT
   'Mr. Mila's two dogs'

Examples (49a and 50a) illustrate the requests the speakers put across to the addressees. The addressees in turn ask follow-up clarification questions which are illustrated in examples (49b and 50b). The content question pronoun *mnɛ́* is employed in asking the question. The speaker finally specifies what exactly he or she intended in the first place in the responses illustrated in examples (49c and 50c).

5.6 Topic and Focus Clause constructions

Interlocuters in any speech interaction aim to make themselves well understood. They go to great lengths to convey their intended meanings. They may place more emphasis on some aspects of the sentence, shift the important parts of their messages to the front or use some other information structuring technique to communicate effectively. Topic and focus are two important elements of speech that interlocuters rely on, to sustain and make meaning of their interactions. While topic refers to the central theme of an utterance, focus is the most important piece of information in an utterance. The subsequent sections will discuss these two information structuring devices. Topic is discussed first in (§5.6.1) followed by focus in (§5.6.2).

5.6.1 *Topic*

Lambrecht (1994: 118) explains that "the topic of a sentence is the thing which the proposition expressed by the sentence is about". Ameka (2010: 143) asserts that the topic provides the basis for the assertion or question that the rest of the clause contains.

Topic in Dompo is marked using the particle *ré*. Syntactically, it occurs after the fronted core element of the clause which occupies the left portion of the entire clause. In some contexts, this marker functions in a similar way to how the Akan topic marker *nó* would. Christaller (1875) in Ameka (2010: 143) opines that *nó* is used to mark dependent clauses whose events occurred in the past or are sure to occur in the future. The use of *ré* in certain contexts in Dompo aligns with the point Christaller makes about the use of *nó* in Akan clauses. That is, *ré* is used to mark dependent clauses about things that have already happened or are certain to happen in Dompo. Observe some examples from some folktales below.

51.

'kó	è	yɔ́	rɛ̀,	è	bá	yɛ́	dɛ̀ɛ̀	wá	dṵ̀ŋ'
REL	3SG	go	TOP	3SG	come	say	fire	DET	extinguish

'When he went, he came back to say the fire had extinguished'

(doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_Some folktales and idioms # 27)

52.

'nó	ó	bá	wù	né	bì	hlé	njà		ré
COND	2SG	come	see	CONJ	3PL	cut	PL-chair		TOP

lóŋóá	shìà	pèpré	kó	è	bá'
then	person	red	INDEF	3SG	come

'If you come and see that they were making chairs, then it's the white person that came to do it'

(doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_Some folktales and idioms # 42).

In example (51) the topic marker *rɛ̀* occurs after the first verb *yɔ́* in the dependent clause. This sets the background information we need to further understand the rest of the clause. Prior to the extract provided above, the story is about a boy who had been sent to fetch fire. When he went to get the fire, he noticed that the fire had gone out and thus did not fetch it. Upon getting back to tell of this outcome, he was told he didn't run the errand, because he had no ashes on his hands to prove that he indeed attempted to fetch the fire. In effect, the dependent clause introduces the temporal setting where the boy went to get the fire.

Similarly, in example (52) the topic marker ends the dependent clause. This clause gives the background information to understanding firstly what is being talked about and then the reason for it is revealed in the main clause that follows. Thus, what is being talked about is chairs. The reason why they have these is because in the past, they used to sit on logs but the white man came to invent chairs and that is why there are now chairs to sit on.

The topic marker is further used to mark the temporal setting of events in Dompo. This is manifested often in narratives. The following examples illustrate this.

53.   'drà   wá   ré   né   bì   júlè   bì   màn   wú   shìà   nὲ
       past   DET   TOP   COND   3PL   argue   3PL   NEG   see   person   CONJ

       mù   yέ   mù'
       3SG   say   3SG

       'In the past, when people have arguments, they do not find anyone to judge it (the case)'

       (doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_Some folktales and idioms # 32)

54.   'nó   ó   kàà   drà   wá   ré   né   bì   yɔ́   pɔ́ɔ́wó   bì
       COND   2SG   wake   past   DET   TOP   CONJ   3PL   go   toilet   3PL

       màn   kɔ́là   bán   yíró'
       NEG   gather   3PL   self

       'In the past, when people defecate, they do not clean themselves well'

       (doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_Some folktales and idioms # 47).

The above examples are descriptions of events the speakers could relate to, that used to happen in the past. The use of the topic marker *ré* after the temporal adjective *drà wá* indicates the fronting of the most important part of the sentence. This part of the sentence is fronted, to portray the fact that the events being talked about were definitely things that occurred in the past and no longer happen presently.

The topic marker can also occur after pronouns and nouns. These entities that provide the background information are fronted. Consider the following examples.

55.   'kó   è   káá   ré   kùnù   è   yá   téé   kálú
       REL   3SG   rise   TOP   hyena   3SG   go   establish   village

       né   è   yúú   mù   bù   wá   kámàkámà'
       CONJ   3SG   build   3SG.POSS   room   DET   nice.IDEO

       'When it arose (when it got up), the hyena established its village and built its house nicely'

       (doy_20161122_42_EDD_KMNSADKNANAK_more folktales and idioms_cont # 74)

56.   míà   ré   nɔ́ɔ̀   mí-n   tín   bɔ̀
       1SG.IND   TOP   what   1SG-FUT   BE.ABLE   do
       'As for me, what can I do?'

57.   nyìnὲ   wá   ré   nɔ́ɔ̀   èn   tín   bɔ̀
       man   DET   TOP   what   3SG   be.able   do
       'As for the man, what can he do?'

In examples (55 and 56) the pronouns *è* and *míà* occur before the topic marker and refer to *kùnù* 'hyena' and the speaker respectively. Similarly, the noun phrase *nyìnè wá* 'the man' is also fronted and occurs before the topic marker. These entities are fronted to indicate their importance in understanding the roles they play throughout the sentences.

5.6.2   *Focus*

Aboh et. al (2007: 1) establish that focus "refers to that part of the clause that provides the most relevant or most salient information in a given situation". They consider the focused element of a sentence the part that is new or is contrasted with another element in the preceding or succeeding part of an interaction. They regard the non-focused part of the clause as the background which refers to the clause that contains the presupposed information.

Focus is expressed in different ways and by various methods in languages. Some of these methods include prosodic stress, pitch accent, morphologically, by the use of morphemes and particles, and syntactic constructions such as cleft constructions (Ameka 2010: 146). Focus elements may occur in the pre-core slot of a clause in which case it is otherwise known as ex-situ as opposed to in-situ focus marking where the focal elements occur at the default position at the end of the clause. A focus morpheme may or may not accompany the focused element.

Dompo exhibits both in situ and ex situ focus constructions. The language has three focus markers. *kó, né* and *nà. kó,* which is also used as relativizer, may occur after the focused element. It may act as both a relativizer and a focus marker in a clause. *né* is used both as a conditional marker and a conjunction. In some constructions, the 3rd person singular marker *mù* occurs before the focus marker to coreference the focused element. *nà,* on the other hand, mostly ends a focus clause construction. It can be noted that *nà* is formally the same as the Akan focus marker *nà.* This suggests that it may be a borrowing from Akan as a result of language contact.

5.6.2.1 Subject and object focus

This section discusses the subject and object arguments of a clause and the way they are focused. Both the subject and object arguments describe the same event, but one which is focused differently. The focused elements are marked with small caps in the examples below. Observe this in the following examples.

58a.   *Kòfí   mɔ̀ɔ̀̃   séé   wá*
      NAME   kill   goat   DET
      'Kofi killed the goat'

b.   *Kòfí   kó   è   mɔ̀ɔ̀̃   séé   wá   (màá Ámá)*
      NAME   FOC   3SG   kill   goat   DET
      'KOFI killed the goat (not Ama)'

c. *séé   wá   nè   Kòfí   mɔ̀ɔ̀*
    goat   DET   FOC   name   kill
    'Kofi killed THE GOAT'

d. *séé   wá   nè   Kòfí   mɔ̀ɔ̀   (màá   kòsí   nà)*
    goat   DET   FOC   NAME   kill   NEG   fowl   FOC
    'The goat is what Kofi killed (not a fowl)'

Example (58a) shows Kòfí as the subject and *séé wá* 'the goat' as the direct object. In (b), Kòfí is the focused entity. The pronoun co-referencing him follows. In brackets is the optional phrase 'not Ama' to reiterate the fact that it was indeed Kofi who killed the goat and not any other person like Ama. Example (c) indicates the focusing of the direct object *séé wá* 'the goat'. The focus marker used in this case is *né* and it also occurs after the focused entity. While it is not clear what conditions the choice of the focus markers *kó* and *né*, it is highly suspected that *kó* is used to refer more to human entities while *nè* is used to refer to both animate and inanimate entities. Example (58d) shows the use of the other focus marker *nà*. In this example, *kòsí* 'fowl' is focused in the second clause to emphasize the fact that it is the goat that was killed and not the fowl

Pronominals can also be focused in Dompo. The independent pronouns as well as subject/object pronouns can be focused. The pronoun is further repeated after the focus marker. This is illustrated in the examples above.

59a. *'míà?   míà   kó   míà   téé   míà*
     1SG.IND 1SG.IND FOC   1SG.IND establish 1SG.IND

     kàbò   nè   mù   bá   chìnà   míà   kèlɔ́.   mù
     place   CONJ 2SG   come stay   1SG.IND beside   3SG

     brábrà   míà?'
     co-equal   1SG

     'Me? I who have built my place and he has come to stay beside me? Am I his co-equal?'
     (doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_some folktales and idioms # 11).

b. *mù   kó   è   bá   nfèè*
    3SG   FOC   3SG come here
    'Lit. It was he who came here'

c. *bán   kó   bí   dàŋ   jí-sɔ́*
    3PL   FOC   3PL   cook   eat-thing
    'Lit. It was they who cooked the food'

As can be seen in the examples above, the independent 1SG pronominal form is used in (59a). The same form is repeated perhaps to place more emphasis on the speaker's right of possession. Similarly, in examples (b and c), the 3SG.OBJ pronoun is focused while the 3SG.SUBJ pronoun occurs after the focus marker. This is same for example (c) where the pronoun that is focused is the 3PL.OBJ form while the constituent that occurs after the focus marker is the 3PL.SUBJ form. This repeated pronoun co-references the subject pronoun.

Pronominal object arguments are also focused in a similar manner to the subject arguments. This is evident in the examples below.

60a.   *ŋnà-pò*   *wá*   *brì*   *mí*
      teach-person   DET   beat   1SG
      'The teacher beat me'

b.   *míà*   *nὲ*   *ŋnà*   *pò*   *wá*   *brì*
      1SG.IND   FOC   teach   person   DET   beat
      'The teacher beat ME'

c.   *nyìnὲ*   *wá*   *sὕà*   *wó*
      man   DET   send   2SG
      'The man sent you'

d.   *ò*   *nὲ*   *nyìnὲ*   *wá*   *sὕà*
      2SG   FOC   man   DET   send
      'The man sent YOU'

In example (60b), we can notice that the independent form of the 1SG subject marker is focused. Consider the subsequent examples involving the 3SG pronoun where the same form *mú* is used in the object position of the unfocused clause and the subject position of the focused clause.

61a.   *ŋnà*   *pò*   *wá*   *brì*   *mú*
      teach   person   DET   beat   3SG.OBJ
      'The teacher beat him/her'

b.   *mù*   *nὲ*   *ŋnà-pò*   *wá*   *brì*
      3SG   FOC   teach-person   DET   beat
      'The teacher beat HIM/HER'

5.6.2.2 The formation of focus clause constructions in Dompo

This section presents how focus clause constructions are formed. As mentioned earlier, a clause may or may not contain the two focus markers *kó* and *nà*. Additionally, focus markers in Dompo reflect when the focused objects occur in ex-situ positions. It must be noted that the elements that are discussed in this section as focused are nominal elements. The following examples illustrate this. Example (64), however, does not contain any focus marker.

62.   Ques: *nɔ̀ɔ̀*   *ó*   *fέ?*   '*what do you sell*'?

      Ans: **In-situ**   **Ex-situ**

        a.   *é*   *fέ*   *yìsòòrè*   b.   *yìsòòrè mù*   *né*   *é*   *fέ*
           1SG   sell   rice   rice   3SG   FOC   1SG   sell
           'I sell RICE'   'RICE (it) is what I sell'

63.   Ques: *mnέ   Ámà   brì?*   'Who did Ama beat?'

      Ans: **In- situ**   **Ex-situ**

      a. *Ámá   brì   Kòfí*   b.   *Kòfí   kó   Ámá   brì   mú*
          NAME   beat   name   NAME   FOC   NAME   beat   3SG.OBJ
          'Ama beat KOFI'   'KOFI is who Ama beat'

64.   Ques: *kàbò   mnέ   nyìnè   wá   yɔ̀?*   'where did the man go?'

      a. *nyìnè   wá   yɔ̀   ndɔɔ̀-rɔ́*
          man   DET   go   farm-SFX
          'The man went to the FARM'

      b. *ndɔɔ̀-rɔ́   nyìnè   wá   yɔ̀*
          farm-SFX   man   DET   go
          'FARM is where the man went to'

In examples (62 and 63), both answers are appropriate answers to the questions *nɔ̀ɔ̀ ó fέ* 'What do you sell?' and *mnέ Ámà brì?* 'Who did Ama beat? In these sentences, *yìsòòrè* 'rice' and Kofi serve as the focused constituents in the clauses. While both words occur in a default position, at the end of the clauses in (62a and 63a), in example (62b and 63b), they occur as the focused elements and occur clause initially. It can also be noticed that the vowel of the focus marker in example (62b) *nέ* changes to become *né* because of the influence of the following 1SG marker *έ.* The phonological process that occurs in this type of influence is regressive or right to left assimilation.

 Furthermore, note that the focus markers do not occur in the in-situ clause constructions. Rather, they are manifested in the ex-situ clause constructions where they occur either after the focused entity or the 3SG pronoun that co-references the entity. Observe that in ex-situ focus constructions, exemplified in (63b), the 3SG OBJ occurs at the end of the clause. This may be because the entity that is co-referenced is animate. Example (64) illustrates a clause without any focus marking. Though *ndɔɔ̀rɔ́* 'farm' is focused in (64b), there is no focus marker that occurs after it. In fact, it is ungrammatical to have the focus marker *kó* after *ndɔɔ̀rɔ́* 'farm'. This may be because *kó* is used to refer to animate objects while *nέ* may be used to refer to both animate and inanimate objects as can be seen in example (63b).

nà is also a focus marker in Dompo. It mainly occurs before the question marker as can be seen in the speech of the consultant, Mr. Mila, during an elicitation session. It may terminate the clause as can be seen in the response of another consultant, Afua Nimena. Observe the following conversation between the two consultants in the example below.

65.   Mr. Mila: *á   mán   tín   lùè   line   kóòlè*
                 1PL   NEG   POSS   finish   line   one
                 'We cannot finish one line'

	Màá	*lô*	*nà*	*à?*
	NEG	that	FOC	Q

'Is that not so/it'?

Afua Nimena:	*lô*	*nà*
	that	FOC

'That is it'

5.6.2.3 Adjunct focus

Adjunct phrases can also be focused as is shown in the examples below. The example pairs in (66a and b) and (67a and b) are the same. The versions in examples (b) are the ones that focus the adjuncts. Thus, the adjunct phrases *ŋkèέ sɔ̀nɔ̃́* 'next week' and *kàpàà dìá* 'this afternoon' are the focused elements.

66a.	*mín*	*yɔ́*	*ndɔ̀ɔ̀-rɔ́*	*ŋkèέ*	*sɔ̀nɔ̃́*
	1SG-FUT	go	farm-SFX	day	seven

'I will go to the farm next week'

b.	*ŋkèέ*	*sɔ̀nɔ̃́*	*nὲ*	*mín*	*yɔ́*	*ndɔ̀ɔ̀-rɔ́*
	day	seven	FOC	1SG-FUT	go	farm-SFX

'I will go to the farm NEXT WEEK'

67a.	*Ámá*	*bà*	*lànɔ̀*	*kàpàà*	*díá*
	NAME	come	house	afternoon	DEM

'Ama came home this afternoon'

b.	*kàpàà*	*díá*	*nὲ*	*Ámá*	*bà*	*lànɔ̀*
	afternoon	DEM	FOC	name	come	house

'Ama came home THIS AFTERNOON'

5.6.2.4 Focusing of complex phrases

Complex phrases such as coordinate noun phrases, possessive phrases and postpositional phrases can also be focused. Observe the following examples.

Coordinate noun phrase

68.	*Kòfí*	*nὲ*	*Ámà*	*bá*	*kó*	*bì*	*bá*	*nfèè*
	NAME	CONJ	NAME	PL	FOC	3PL	come	here

'KOFI AND AMA (they) came here'

Possessive phrase

69a.	*Ámá*	*(mù)*	*jí-sɔ́*	*nὲ*	*Kòfí*	*tɔ̀*
	NAME	3SG.POSS	eat-thing	FOC	NAME	buy

'Kofi bought AMA'S FOOD/ AMA'S FOOD is what Kofi bought'

b.	*mí*	*níí*	*mù*	*kàchà*	*kó*	*è*	*wɔ̀*	*dèhè-sɔ́*	*wá*	*wó*
	1SG	mother	3SG.POSS	cloth	FOC	3SG	be at	sleep-thing	DET	on

'MY MOTHER'S CLOTH (which) is on the bed'

Postpositional phrase

70a.
yí	díá	(mù)	ntnɔ̀	nὲ	ŋmὲὲ̀-sɔ̀	wá	wɔ̀
tree	DEM	3SG	under	FOC	kick-thing	DET	be at

'The ball is UNDER THIS TREE / 'UNDER THIS TREE is where the ball is'

b.
táblò	wá	sósó	nὲ	wùlò	wá	wɔ̀
table	DET	top	FOC	book	DET	be at

'The book is ON THE TABLE / ON THE TABLE is where the book is''

In example (68), the coordinate noun phrase *Kòfí nὲ Ámá* has been focused. It should, however, be noted that it is not possible to focus the constituents individually. This shows that focus particles have scope over a phrase and not just the word. It will thus be ungrammatical to have the sentence below.

71.
*Kòfí	kó	nὲ	Ámà	bá	kó	bì	bá	nfὲὲ
NAME	FOC	CONJ	NAME	PL	FOC	3PL	come	here

'KOFI AND AMA came here'

The possessive phrases in examples (69a and b) *Ámà (mù) jísɔ́* 'Ama's food' and *mí níí mù kàchà* 'my mother's cloth' are fronted for focus in the subject positions of both clauses. The 3SG possessive marker *mù* is an optional element that occurs between the possessor and the possessed item to co-reference the possessor. The focus markers *nὲ* and *kó* occur after the possessive phrase.

It is possible to focus the possessor of a possessive clause but not the possessed item in Dompo. Thus, from the basic clause in example (72a), the possessor, Ama is focused separately in example (b). Example (c) is, however, infelicitous since the possessed noun phrase, *jísɔ́* 'food' is focused.

72a.
Kòfí	tɔ̀	Ámà	mù	jí-sɔ́
NAME	buy	NAME	3SG.POSS	food

'Kofi bought Ama's food'

b.
Ámà	nὲ	Kòfí	tɔ̀	mù	jí-sɔ́
NAME	FOC	NAME	buy	3SG.POSS	eat-thing

'Kofi bought AMA'S FOOD'

c.
*jí-sɔ́	nὲ	Kòfí	tɔ̀	Ámà
eat-thing	FOC	NAME	buy	name

'Kofi bought Ama's FOOD'

The postpositional phrases in examples (70a and b) have also been focused from their original object positions. While the postpositional phrases can be focused, the postpositions, *ntnɔ̀* 'under' and *sósó* 'top', cannot be focused individually. The sentence below is thus ungrammatical.

d.
*ntnɔ̀	nὲ	ŋmὲὲ̀-sɔ̀	wá	wɔ̀	yí	díá
under	FOC	kick-thing	DET	be at	tree	DEM

'The ball is under this tree'

5.6.2.5 Focusing of other syntactic categories

There are a variety of syntactic categories other than complex structures that can take focus. In this section, predicate focus, adverbial focus and adjectival focus are treated. Adverbs can also be focused. The sections that follow discuss how these categories are focused.

5.6.2.5.1 Verbs in focus

Verbs can be focused in Dompo by fronting the bare form of the verb, after which the focus marker follows. There could also be instances where the focus marker is absent, in which case the verb is fronted, followed by the noun or pronoun, the verb again and other complements that might follow. Examples (73b and d) thus focus the verbs *mùséé* 'laugh' and *jùlà* 'learn'. Observe the following examples.

73a.   *è*   *wɔ̀*   *káá*   *múséé*
        3SG   be   PROG   laugh
        'He/she is laughing'

b.   *mùséé*   *kó*   *è*   *wɔ̀*   *káá*   *múséé*
        laugh   FOC   3SG   be   PROG   laugh
        'He/she is LAUGHING'

c.   *Ámà*   *èn*   *jùlá*
        NAME   3SG-FUT   learn
        'Ama will learn'

d.   *jùlà*   *Ámà*   *èn*   *jùlá*
        learn   NAME   3SG-FUT   learn
        'Ama will LEARN'

5.6.2.5.2 Adverbials in focus

Adverbials can also be fronted for focus from their complement position to clause initial position. Adverbs that fall into this category include the locational adverbs *nfèè* 'here' and *nfèé nɔ́ /nɔ́* 'there', temporal adverbs like *ndré* 'yesterday', *kàbrè* 'today', *kɛ̀* 'tomorrow' etc. Let us observe how they are focused.

74a.   *á*   *wù*   *nyìnè*   *wá*   *nfèè*
        1PL   see   man   DET   here
        'We saw the man here'

b.   *nfèè*   *nè*   *á*   *wù*   *nyìnè*   *wá*
        here   FOC   1PL   see   man   DET
        'We saw the man HERE'

c.   *mín*   *yɔ́*   *Áccrâ*   *nyɔ̀ɔ́*   *nyɔ̀ɔ́*   *ŋkɛ̀*
        1SG-FUT   go   Accra   two   two   day
        'I will go to Accra on Saturday'

d. *nyɔ̀ɔ́* *nyɔ̀ɔ́* *ŋkɛ̀* *nɛ̀* *mín* *yɔ́* *Áccrâ*
    two   two   day   FOC   1SG-FUT   go   Accra
    'I will go to Accra on SATURDAY'

The adverbials *nfèè* 'here' and *nyɔ̀ɔ́ nyɔ̀ɔ́ ŋkɛ̀* 'Saturday' have thus been fronted from their in-situ position to the ex-situ positions of the clauses in examples (74 b and d).

5.6.2.5.3 *Adjectives in focus*

Adjectives can also be focused in Dompo. Examples (75 a and b) show the descriptive adjectives *ŋgèŋgrɛ̀* 'tall' and *kàchɛ̀ɛ́* 'small' in the clause final positions. When the adjectives are focused, they occur in the clause initial positions in examples (c and d) below.

75a. *Ama* *è* *bɔ́* *ŋgèŋgrɛ̀*
      NAME 3SG make tall
      'Ama has become tall'

b. *kàbìà* *wá* *wɔ̀* *káà* *bɔ́* *kàchɛ̀ɛ́*
    child   DET   be at   PROG   make   small
    'The child is becoming small'

c. *ŋgèŋgrɛ̀* *nɛ̀* *Ámà* *è* *bɔ́*
    tall   FOC   NAME   3SG   make
    'Ama has become TALL'

d. *kàchɛ̀ɛ́* *nɛ̀* *kàbìà* *wá* *wɔ̀* *káà* *bɔ́*
    small   FOC   child   DET   be at   PROG   make
    'The child is becoming SMALL'

Chapter 6: IDEOPHONES, INTERJECTIONS AND PARTICLES.

6. 1.   *Introduction*

This chapter discusses three closely related resources that Dompo speakers employ in their day to day interactions. They are considered related because they are all expressive in nature and additionally reveal the mental disposition of the speaker. Their form is such that they do not sometimes conform to the usual sound or syllable patterns of the language as is discussed in (§6.3.1.2). The chapter begins with a discussion of ideophones in (§6.2). Subsections under this include, syllable structure of ideophones (§6.2.1), features of ideophones (§6.2.2) and grammatical functions of ideophones (§6.2.3). Interjections are discussed in (§6.3). Other sub sections under this are, interjections in Dompo (§6.3.1), primary and secondary interjections (§6.3.1.1), structure of interjections (§6.3.1.2), classification of interjections (§6.3.2), expressive interjections (§6.3.2.1), conative interjections (§6.3.2.2) and phatic interjections (§6.3.2.3). Particles are treated in (§6.4) while routine expressions are discussed in (§6.5). Under this section are the subsections, greetings (§6.5.1), morning greetings (§6.5.1.1), afternoon greetings (§6.5.1.2), evening greetings (§6.5.1.3), greetings when entering people's homes (§6.5.1.4), when welcoming people (§6.5.1.5), greeting people working on the farm (§6.5.1.6) and greeting when people are eating (§6.5.1.7). The interaction that ensues when expressing gratitude is discussed in (§6.5.2), expressing congratulations (§6.5.3), expressing sympathy (§6.5.4) and expressing farewell (§6.5.5).

Firstly, ideophones and to some degree interjections, unlike particles, exhibit a symbolic relationship between the concept and the sound that represents them. While interjections and particles largely derive their meaningfulness from being used in specific contexts and are thus context bound (Ameka 1992a: 108), ideophones may be consistently meaningful whether they are used contextually or not. Ameka (1992a), Akita & Dingemanse (2019) and Dingemanse (2017) posit that interjections and ideophones, unlike particles, form a distinct class as they are more syntactically independent. Interjections and ideophones are thus used independently as words and utterances. Ideophones and interjections may belong to different grammatical categories such as nouns, adverbs, verbs, or adjectives (Ameka 2001: 26) while particles may not and are usually treated as their own word category. Lastly, ideophones have semiotic features that make them distinct from interjections and particles which may make them more responsive than depictive (Akita & Dingemanse 2019: 3).

6.2 *Ideophones*

Ideophones are linguistic tools that play symbolic roles in the languages that use them by exhibiting an iconic relationship between their form and meaning. Observe the ideophones below.

1. | *dèè* | *wá* | *è* | *bɔ́* | **kpràkpràkprà** |
   |---|---|---|---|---|
   | firewood | DET | 3SG | do | IDEO. the sparks of fire from firewood |

   'The firewood is emitting sparks'

2. | '*né* | *è* | *tré* | *báshíá* | **krérɛ́rɛ́** | *né* | *è* | *yɛ́* | *bán* |
   |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
   | CONJ | 3SG | call | PL.person | IDEO | CONJ | 3SG | tell | 3PL |

krɔ̀	*kó*	*nɛ́*	*bì*	*bá'*
side	INDEF	CONJ	3PL	come

   'He called the people and told them something and they came'

   (doy_20161118_37_EDD_NSAKMDKNANAK_Some folktales in Dompo # 5).

The ideophone *kpràkpràkprà* in example (1) reflects the sound of sparks emitting from firewood. The sparks also represent the symbolic relationship between the sound and the flashes of light the sparks represent. Additionally, the fact that the sound is repeated three times is an indication of the intensity of the sparks. In example (2) the story has it that there was a man who had a beautiful daughter. He wanted to give her out in marriage but only to a very wise man. He then put forward a puzzle and stated that anyone in the community who could solve it would marry his daughter. Just like the sound the telephone makes when it rings, the ideophone *krérɛ́rɛ́* is used to allude to calls the man made to people to partake in the competition.

Though pervasive in many African languages (Ewe, Ameka 2001; Akan, Agyekum 2008; Dagaare and Cantonese, Bodomo 2006; Igbo, Uchechukwu 2007; Siwu, Dingemanse 2011; Logba, Dorvlo 2008; Tafi, Bobuafor 2013; Nkami, Asante 2016) and other languages around the world, the nature of ideophones has eluded many linguistic scientists most probably because they have been tagged as difficult to elicit with unpredictable meanings (Dingemanse 2011: 2). Additionally, ideophones have also been considered peripheral to language and have not been duly investigated in some languages. Ameka (2001: 25), however, advocates for ideophones to be considered in typological descriptions in languages.

The term ideophone has often been credited to Doke (1935: 18), who defined it as "a vivid representation of an idea in sound. A word, often onomatopoetic, which describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, colour, sound, smell, action, state or intensity". Finding this definition of ideophone not wholistic enough, Dingemanse (2011: 25) provides a broader definition establishing that "ideophones are marked words that depict sensory images". By describing ideophones as marked words, he alludes to the distinct way ideophones differ from ordinary words, their free forms and specificity in meaning and also the fact that they depict rather than describe their referents. The second part of his definition, ideophones "depict sensory images", means that perceptual knowledge, which is derived from sensory perception, and which includes inner feelings, is what is made use of in describing ideophones. Agyekum (2008: 101-102) also posits that ideophones portray a correspondence between the form, sound and their semantic meaning and hence reduces the arbitrariness that exists between these intertwined

concepts. Lastly, Uchechukwu (2007: 28) notes that ideophones are not only restricted to ideas and its sound correspondence but also, ideophones refer to states, events, emotions and the perception of colours.

With regard to their grammatical features, (Ameka 2001: 26) explains that ideophones form a lexical class of words which are part of grammatical categories such as nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs in languages. Many ideophones in Dompo are in the category of adjectives. Reduplication creates features that are similar to ideophones in reduplicated adjectives, hence I use the term ideophone to include forms like *sìsì̀* in example (3b). I discuss further adjectives and reduplicative ideophone forms, in (§6.2.2). Below in example (3b) is an example of how reduplication enhances the sensory images of intensity in Dompo. Thus, the reduplicated form *sìsì̀* indicates the extent to which the dogs are short as opposed to the monosyllabic form *sì̀.*

3a. *kàntètè sì̀   wá*
     dog   short   DET
     'The short dog'

b.   *n-tèntè sì̀-sì̀   áná   bì   wɔ̀   nfèè*
     PL.dog short-IDEO   QUANT   3PL   be at   here
     'The very short dogs are here'

Generally, ideophones have been noted to be difficult to elicit and this problem was faced when eliciting them in Dompo. This was more challenging because of the small number of speakers of the language and the lack of naturalistic conversation and interaction amongst speakers. Most of the ideophones represented in this chapter were elicited from four of the remaining speakers of the language. These largely belong to the category of adjectives and adverbs. Some of the few other ideophones that exhibited sound symbolism were extracted from the narration of folktales given by two of the speakers.

The next section discusses the phonetic features of ideophones while the subsequent one explores the grammatical features of how they are used in (§6.2.3).

6.2.1   Syllable structure of ideophones

This section addresses the syllable structure of all the symbolic and onomatopoeic ideophones in Dompo. These are not different from the syllable structure of lexical words (see §2. 8. 1.) in the language. The data indicates that ideophones are not restricted by syllable type. Ideophones have been identified with syllable types including CV, CCV, CC and CVC. Below are examples of ideophones listed by syllable structure.

Syllable Type	Ideophone	Gloss
CV	*fùùù*	the sound of a speeding car
	chĩ̃ĩ̃	a continuous activity
	rɔ́rɔ́rɔ́rɔ́rɔ́	to walk steadily
CCV	*krááá*	an indication of nothing being done.
	kpràkpràkprà	sparks of fire from firewood
CCV.CV	*kréréré*	imitating the sound telephone makes to call people.
CC	*krrrrr*	speed with which something is done.
CVC	*kpàŋ*	the sudden occurrence of something.

Table 14. Syllable structure of Ideophones

The final vowel/consonant of some of the ideophones is normally lengthened for effect. In the case of some of the ideophones, the whole syllable structure is reduplicated. With the C_1C_2V syllable structure, C_1 is usually a velar plosive while C_2 is the trill 'r'. Similarly, in a CC structure, the second C is the trill. The last consonant sound of a CVC syllable structure is usually a nasal sound.

6.2.2   Features of Ideophones in Dompo

Ideophone properties are seen most frequently in the use of reduplication, to create extra duration or intensity. The larger number of ideophones represent vivid sensory images including speed, dimension, colour, motion and abundance. A feature of ideophones is their reduplicated or repeated nature which in effect makes them more iconic and expressive (Dingemanse 2015; Agyekum 2008; Uchechukwu 2007). Ideophones in Dompo are no exception to this feature.

Amongst some non-ideophonic words in Dompo are the mono and disyllabic lexical words, mostly adjectives, that have been reduplicated for the effect of quantity, intensity and frequency.

The monosyllabic and disyllabic forms of words may create one effect or the other. However, it is when they are reduplicated that the phenomenon of ideophone becomes clearer. Example (4) below shows the mono and disyllabic non-ideophonic adjectives while example (5) illustrates their reduplicated versions.

4. *mlá*   'fast/quick'

   bwὲὲ   'slow'

   ŋkὲ   'day'

   ŋkὲrɔ́   'sometimes'

   sɪ̀   'short'

   gbɔ̀ɔ̃̀   'big'

   ŋgrὲ   'tall'

   tàmbà   'plenty'

   kámà   'nice'

   kὲlὲ   'true'

5. *mlámlá*   'fast/very fast'

   bwὲὲbwὲὲ   'very slow/slowly'

   ŋkὲέŋkὲ   'every day/always'

   ŋkὲrɔ́ŋkὲrɔ́   'usually'

   sɪ̀sɪ̀   'very short / short.PL'

   gbɔ̀gbɔ̀ɔ̃   'very big/ big.PL'

   ŋgὲŋgrὲ   'very tall'

   tàmbàtàmbà   'plentiful/ in abundance'

   kámàkámà   'very nice/very well' (borrowed from Akan)

   kὲlὲkὲlὲ   'truly'

The above examples in (5) indicate instances of total reduplication. There are also some descriptive non-ideophonic adjectives that exhibit features of partial reduplication. Some of these words, *lὲlὲ* 'very well' and *kpákpáá* 'shiver', though totally reduplicated, do not have monosyllabic counterparts. Some, like *nchὲchὲέ* 'small pieces', have a sense of plurality, while the others indicate the sensory image of colour. Observe them in example (6) below.

6. *fúflú*   'white'

     bíbrí   'black'

     pɛ́prɛ́   'red'

     pɔ́prɔ́   'new'

     lɛ̀lɛ̀   'very well'

     kpákpáá   'shiver'

     nchɛ̀chɛ̀ɛ́   'small pieces'

Consider how some of these ideophonic adjectives are used in sentences.

7a. *Ámá   è   chínà   mlá*
     Ama   3SG   sit   quick/fast
     'Ama sat quickly/fast'

b. *kàbìà   wá   nààré mlá-mlá*
     child   DET   walk   quick-IDEO
     'The child walked very quickly'

8a. *chèè   wá   fèè   bù   wá   kámà*
     womn DET   sweep house DET   nice
     'The woman swept the room nicely'

b. *nyìnè   wá   yùù   làndɔ̀ wá   kámà-kámà*
     man   DET   build   house DET   nice-IDEO
     'The man built the house very nicely'

The adverbial ideophone *mlámlá* 'very quickly' in example (7b) shows the manner in which *kàbìà wá* 'the child' walked, which is described as being quicker than how Ámá sat down in example (7a). Likewise, example (8a) also illustrates how nicely the woman swept the room, which is compared to how very nicely the man built the house in example (8b). The following examples indicate how adjectives are expressed through reduplication.

9a. *bà-shìà   tàmbà bì   wɔ̀   lànɔ̀   wá   rɔ́*
     PL-person   plenty 3PL be at   house DET   in
     'There are a lot of people in the house'

b. *ŋɔ̀sré tàmbà-tàmbà wɔ̀   nyìnè wá   krɔ́*
     money plenty-IDEO   be at   man   DET   side
     'The man has a lot of money (in abundance)'

10a. *è   bá   nfèè   ŋkèrɔ́*
     3SG   come   here   sometimes
     'He comes here sometimes'

b. è   yɔ́   nɔ́   ŋkèrɔ́-ŋkèrɔ́
    3SG   go   there   usually-IDEO
    'He goes there usually'

Examples (9b and 10b) depict how the adjectival ideophones are used to show quantity and frequency. *tàmbàtàmbà* 'plenty' shows that the money talked about is in abundance. It is further used to describe non-countable items. *ŋkèrɔ́ŋkèrɔ́* 'usually' is used to depict the frequency with which the subject goes to the location being talked about.

There are also ideophones in the language that typically imitate the sounds of objects in the natural environment. In the 77 recordings of folktales, proverbs and anecdotes, we find the following ideophones,

kpràkpràkprà   'sparks of fire'

fùùù   'speed of car'

chĩ́ĩ́ĩ́   'continuous activity'

krɛ́rɛ́rɛ́   'calling of people'

krááá   'expression of nothingness'

krrr   'speed an activity is done'

rɔ́rɔ́rɔ́rɔ́rɔ́   'to walk steadily'

kpàŋ   'sudden occurrence of something'.

These are illustrated in the examples below.

11. dèè̀   wá   è   bɔ́   **kpràkpràkprà**
     firewood   DET   3SG   do   IDEO. the sparks of fire from firewood
     'The firewood is emitting sparks *kpràkpràkprà*'

12. kló   wá   è   chó   nfèè   **fùùù**
     car   DET   3SG   pass   here   IDEO.the sound a fast car makes when it passes
     'The car passed here *fùùù* (speeding)'

13. 'dòòwè   né   chằ   né   kòsì   fáárɔ́   bì   yàà
     partridge   CONJ   guinea fowl   CONJ   fowl   bush   3PL   go

     wɔ̀   nè̀   sló   blá   bám.   kó   sló   blá
     be at CONJ   elephant   raise   3PL   REL   elephant   raise

     bám   wá,   kákɛ́   kó   è   yá   tíí   kánká   kán
     3PL   DET   day   INDEF   3SG   go   pluck   termites   SC

     bá   wùrè   bán   krɔ́   nè̀   bì   jí   **chĩ́ĩ́ĩ́**   kán   mùè̀'.
     come   put   3PL   side   CONJ   3PL   eat   IDEO   SC   satisfy

'The partridge, guinea fowl and chicken were being raised by the elephant. One day he brought them termites and they ate *chĩ́ĩ́ĩ́* till they were satisfied'

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(doy_20161118_37_EDD_NSAKMDKNANAK_Some folktales and idioms # 1).

Fùùù in example (12) above imitates the sound a car makes as it speedily drives on the road. The lengthening of the vowel in this sound shows the duration and intensity of the speed. This is similar to the expression of *chííí* in the narration in (13) above. Observe how the other ideophones are used.

14. *'drà   wá   né   shíá   wù   bì   àn   sǘ   **krááá'***
     past   DET   COND person die   3PL   NEG   cry   IDEO
     'In the past, when people die, people did not shed any tear *krááá*'

     (doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_some folktales and idioms # 37).

15. *'yɛ́   ó   klú   wá   nè   mù   yáà   léé   wó*
     say   2SG   husband   DET   COND 3SG   go   like   2SG

     nè   è   yɛ́   kèlè   à?   yɛ́   ɛ̀ɛ́!   nè   è
     CONJ   3SG   say   true   Q   say   PART   CONJ 3SG

     *yá   sɔ̀   sɔ̀mì   wá   **krrrr**   kán   kɛ̀ɛ̀   m-bá'*
     go   do   work   DET   IDEO   SC   take   SC-come

     'He said so your husband can like you. She said truly? And he said yes!'

     he went to do the work *krrrr* (hurriedly) and brought it (the charm)'

     (doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_some folktales and idioms # 41).

16. *nyìnè   wá   è   wú   **kpàŋ***
     man   DET   3SG   die   suddenly
     'The man died suddenly'

17. *'nè   mù   jáhó   **rɔ́rɔ́rɔ́rɔ́rɔ́**   kán   bá   fò   kpà   nchàà'*
     CONJ   3SG   follow IDEO   SC   come reach path   cross
     'And it followed *rɔ́rɔ́rɔ́rɔ́rɔ́* (steadily), and they reached a crossroad'

     (doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_some folktales and idioms # 28)

Example (14) also instantiates the fact that in the past, there were no tears shed for the dead at all. The ideophone here is meant to bring out the inner feeling of wonder and disbelief. In example (15) the story tells of a woman who wanted a charm prepared for her to make her husband love her more than his other wife. She visited a ritualist to prepare the charm for her. The ideophone ***krrrr*** in example (15) shows the speed with which the ritualist made the charm. The ideophone *kpàŋ* in the final example in (16) indicates how a person can die suddenly. Though the form is not reduplicated like the others, it is likened to the sound an object makes when it falls down abruptly.

Generally, ideophones in Dompo can be reduplicated twice. A few can be triplicated. They include ***kpràkpràkprà, kréréré*** and ***nchèchèénchèchèénchèchèé***. The ideophone ***rɔ́rɔ́rɔ́rɔ́rɔ́*** was reduplicated several times in the folktale. Its duration was extended through repetition. Furthermore, some ideophones in Dompo occur at the end of utterances, thus reinforcing their adverbial nature in languages.

6.2.3 Grammatical functions of Ideophones in Dompo

Most of the reduplicated ideophones in Dompo function as either adjectives or adverbs. In this sense, the ones that function as adjectives include, *gbɔ̀gbɔ̀ɔ̀* 'very big', *sǐsǐ* 'very short', *ŋgèŋgrɛ̀* 'very tall', *tàmbàtàmbà* 'abundance of items'. The following are some examples they are used in.

17a. | *nyìnɛ̀* | *gbɔ̀gbɔ̀ɔ̀* | | *wá* | *brì* | *mú* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| man | big.IDEO | | DET | beat | 3SG |

'The very big man beat him'

b. | *chèè* | *wá* | *mù* | *kó* | *è* | *wɔ̀* | *sǐsǐ* | | *bán* | *rɔ́* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| woman | DET | 3SG | FOC | 3SG | be at | short.IDEO | | 3PL | in |

'The woman is the shortest among them'

c. | *Kòfí* | *ŋgèŋgrɛ̀* | | *wá* | *wɔ̀* | *lánɔ̀* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| name | tall.IDEO | | DET | be at | house |

'The very tall Kofi is at home'

d. | *kàdàràràà* | *tàmbàtàmbà* | *wɔ̀* | *lɛ̀pɛ̀* | *wá* | *rɔ́* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| orange | plenty.IDEO | be at | bowl | DET | in |

'There are plenty (in abundance) oranges in the bowl'

e. | *'nè* | *è* | *yá* | *sɔ̌* | *sɔ̀mì* | *wá* | **krrrr** | *kán* | *kɛ̀ɛ̀* | *mbá'* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CONJ | 3SG | go | do | work | DET | IDEO | SC | take | come |

'And he went to do the work hurriedly and brought it (the charm)'

(doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_some folktales and idioms # 41).

In all the examples above, the adjectives *gbɔ̀gbɔ̀ɔ̀* 'big', *sǐsǐ* 'short', *ŋgèŋgrɛ̀* 'tall' and *tàmbàtàmbà* 'plenty', modify the nouns *nyìnɛ̀* 'man', *chèè wá* 'the woman', Kòfí and *kàdàràràà* 'orange'. *gbɔ̀gbɔ̀ɔ̀* serves as an ideophone in example (17a) to invoke the size of the man that beat the object of the sentence. Similarly, *sǐsǐ* and *ŋgèŋgrɛ̀* reveal the very short nature of the woman and Kofi in examples (b and c). *tàmbàtàmbà* qualifies the quantity of oranges contained in the bowl. The ideophone *krrrr* in example (e) is used as a descriptive adjective to describe the hurried way in which the ritualist did the charm.

The following ideophones can function as adverbs — *mlámlá* 'fast/very fast', *bwɛ̀ɛ̀bwɛ̀ɛ̀* 'very slow/slowly', *ŋkɛ̀ɛ́ŋkɛ̀* 'every day/always', *ŋkɛ̀rɔ́ŋkɛ̀rɔ́* 'usually' and *nchèchɛ̀ɛ́* 'small pieces'. Observe them in the examples below.

18a. | *kàbìà* | *wá* | *jòò* | *mlámlá* |
|---|---|---|---|
| child | DET | run | fast.IDEO |

'The child ran very fast'

b. | *nsǜ* | *wá* | *è* | *lírɛ̀* | *bwɛ̀ɛ̀bwɛ̀ɛ̀* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| water | DET | 3SG | come out | slow.IDEO |

'The water is coming out very slowly'

c. *ŋkὲέŋkὲ*   *pã̀*   *wá*   *lìrὲ*
day.IDEO   sun   DET   come out
'The sun comes out every day'

d. *chὲὲ* *wá* *è* *bá* *nfὲὲ* *ŋkὲrɔ́ŋkὲrɔ́*
woman DET 3SG come here day-in.IDEO
'The woman comes here usually'

e. *bì* *dáŋà* *pɔ́ɔ́* *táblò* *wó* *nὲ* *chὲὲ* *wá*
3PL put stick table on CONJ woman DET
'They put a stick on the table and the woman'

   kὲὲ *glìhɔ̀* *kán* *bùrὲ* *mú* *nchὲchὲέnchὲchὲένchὲchὲέ*
take metal SC break 3SG small.IDEO

'took a metal (axe) to break the stick into small pieces'

(doy_20161211_54_EDD_KMDKNNSAANAK_verification of cut and break verbs. video # 31).

In examples (18a and b), the adverbs *mlámlá* 'very fast' and *bwὲὲbwὲὲ* 'very slowly' occur immediately after the verbs *jòò* 'run' and *lírὲ* 'come out' to describe how fast the child ran and how slowly the water came out. The adverb of time, represented by the reduplicated ideophone, *ŋkὲέŋkὲ* 'every day', shows the frequency with which the sun comes out. In the same vein, *ŋkὲrɔ́ŋkὲrɔ́* 'usually' is a temporal adverb that shows how habitually the woman goes to the place described in example (d). Example (e) demonstrates the triplication of the adjective *nchὲchὲέ* which further demonstrates how small the pieces were further broken into. *nchὲchὲέ* can occur after a noun and modify it but *nchὲchὲένchὲchὲένchὲchὲέ* cannot be used in that way. This thus supports the fact that *nchὲchὲένchὲchὲένchὲchὲέ* is being used as an adverb rather than an adjective.

Lastly, a few ideophones in Dompo may function as verbs. This is demonstrated in the example below where the reduplicated ideophone *kpákpáá* is used as a verb to show the action of what is happening to the child.

19. *kàbìà* *wá* *è-kpákpáá* *kábrὲ*
child DET 3SG-shiver today
'The child is shivering today'

6.3   Interjections

Interjections, like ideophones, have often been considered peripheral to language, one reason being that they appear to be on the borders between verbal and non-verbal communication (Ameka 1992a: 112). While "interjections are often cast as the blunt monosyllabic fragments of the most primitive and emotional forms of language, the role some have played as communicative tools to repair social interactions has led to a rethink of their nature" (Dingemanse 2017: 200). Similarly, Ameka &Wilkins (2006: 1) observe that efforts are being made to move the study of interjections from the margins of language to the core of linguistics issues, because of their pragmatic usefulness. The prevalence of interjections in languages cannot be underestimated, as it

forms part of conscious everyday utterances. Schacter (1985: 60) echoes this in his observation about the presence of interjections in all languages, though they are hardly the subject of discussion. Ameka (1992a: 101) also supports the existence of interjections in all languages by asserting that, apart from nouns and verbs, interjections form another word class present in all languages.

Interjections are words which can be used independently as utterances. They essentially express a speaker's mental state and portray the reaction or attitude of a speaker towards an element in either a linguistic or non-linguistic frame (Ameka & Wilkins 2006: 2). They have also been described by Ameka (1992a: 106) as being "relatively conventionalized vocal gestures (or more generally, linguistic gestures) which express a speaker's mental state, action or attitude or reaction to a situation". In a similar vein, Wilkins (1992: 124) has also defined interjections as conventional lexical items, monomorphemic in nature, which form an utterance on their own and are constructed independently of other word classes. Moreover, they do not accommodate inflectional or derivational morphemes.

6.3.1 *Interjections in Dompo*

Interjections can be used independently and out of context without difficulty in being understood. They also do not belong to any word class in the language and are thus primary. Interjections in Dompo may be closely related to some conventional gestures such as raising and pointing of the arms, pouting of the lips, opening of the mouth, enlarging of the eyes, nodding of the head and others. These to a very large extent express the mental state of the speaker. Interjections which are related in expression may co-occur with a specific gesture. However, more detailed discussion of the connection between particular gestures and interjections would require further studies. It must be noted that many of these interjections may also be found cross-linguistically in Ghana, though there might be some variations also. The list below includes the primary interjections in Dompo.

6.3.1.1 *Primary and secondary interjections in Dompo*

Ameka (1992a: 105) identifies two types of interjections, namely primary and secondary interjections. Primary interjections, he notes, are English words such as *Ouch*!, *Wow*!, *Gee*!, *Oho*! *Oops*! that are used just as interjections and not as belonging to any word class. He notes that secondary interjections, on the other hand, belong to other word classes based on their semantics and are interjections because they can occur on their own non-elliptically. They are also used to express a mental attitude or state. English examples include *Damn*! *Sorry*!, *Help*!, *Christ*!.

Below are the primary interjections in Dompo.

20.	**Interjection**	**Meaning**
	éé!	'surprise/shock'
	óów	'surprise/shock'
	áá!	'anger /disbelief'
	áì!	'tiredness'
	ɛ̀ɛ́!	'affirmation'
	ɛ̀hɛ́ɛ̀!	'emphasis/ remembering something out of the blue'
	ĩ́ĩ́n!	'pain'
	áò	'unbearable pain'
	ɔ̀ɔ́	'confirmation'
	ɔ́ɔ̀hɔ́!	'denial or disagreement'
	àhɛ̌ɛ̀!	'emphatic statement'
	mhm!	'confirmation/understanding'
	mmhm!	'disagreement/disapproval'
	mm!	'unbearable pain'
	húú!	'mockery/shame'
	hɛ́ɛ̀	'surprise/dismay'
	prú!	'contempt/ impossibility'
	dààbí	'denial'
	yòò	'agreement'

There are those types of interjections known as attention seeking interjections. They are used to gain the attention of the addressee. Below are some examples.

21.	*héì!*	'used to call the attention of someone'
	sss	'used to call the attention of someone at a distance'

sss[36]	'used to call the attention of chicken'
ʃʃʃ	'used to signal people, especially children, to keep quiet'
káì!	'used to sack animals especially goats and sheep'
búss	'used to call cats'
Ɵ	'used to call dogs'

The following examples show some contextsin which the primary interjections are used.

22.
'*nɛ́*	*yíró*	*bàdɛ̀ɛ̀*	*sló*		*nɛ́*	*è*	*yá*	
CONJ	body	hot	elephant		CONJ	3SG	go	

lìà	*mú*	*yírò*	*kán*	*dèhè*	*yìlù*	*rɔ́.*	*kó*	
remove	3SG	body	SC	sleep	shade	in	REL	

è	*déhè*	*wá*	*nɛ́*	*è*	*bɔ́*	*fnɛ́*	*èn*	
3SG	sleep	DET	CONJ	3SG	make	like	3SG-FUT	

dí	*tó*	*nɛ́*	*mù*	*ntnɔ̀*	*rɛ́*	*è*	*prɛ́*	
sleep	INT	CONJ	3SG	buttom	TOP	3SG	hot	

nɛ́	*kòsí*	*bá*	*jɔ̀ɔ̀*	*dé*	*nɛ́*	*dédìá*	*bá*	*jɔ̀ɔ̀*
CONJ	fowl	come	pierce	here	CONJ	DEM	come	pierce

dé	*nɛ́*	*è*	*kàà*	*yɛ́*	***áá!***	*bá*	*mnɛ́*	*kó*
here	CONJ	3SG	wake	say	INTJ	PL	who	INDEF

bì	*bɔ́*	*sén*	*díá*	*pɛ̀ɛ̀?'*				
3PL	do	matter	this	at all				

'And elephant felt hot and so went to sleep in the shade. As soon as he was about to fall into a deep sleep, he felt a pierce on his buttom. Fowl pierced this side of his buttocks while another pierced another side. Then elephant woke up and said angrily asking ***ah,*** which people have done this at all?'

(doy_20161118_37_EDD_NSAKMDKNANAK_some folktales in Dompo # 1)

23.
'*nɛ́*	*kàntètè*	*káá*	*yá*	*blì*	*mú*	*yɛ́*	*mí*	*nákpáá*
CONJ	dog	rise	go	mix	3SG	say	1SG	friend

mín	*blí*	*mú*	*léé*	*nɛ́*	*è*	*yɛ́*	***yɔ̀ɔ̀***	*blì*
1SG	mix	3SG	awhile	CONJ	3SG	say	INTJ	mix

mú	*ɛ̀'*							
3SG	PART							

'And dog rose to go mix it and said, my friend, I am mixing it for a while and (rabbit) said ***yɔ̀ɔ̀*** **(okay)** mix it'

(doy_20161122_42_EDD_KMNSADKNANAK_more folktales and idioms_cont # 71)

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[36] Young girls are sometimes referred to as 'chicks' by young boys. This attention calling device for chicken is what might have been adopted by the young boys. Thus, if a young man doesn't know the name of the lady he wants attention from, he uses the interjection 'ss'.

24.
'kɛ́	kó	nɛ́	kàntètè	séé	bá	tú	mú	yɛ́	bì
day	INDEF	REL	dog	goat	come	meet	3SG	say	3PL

yè	kùnù	è	yɔ́	Mákà	kán	bà	dáŋàà	í	nà
say	hyena	3SG	go	Mecca	SC	come	so	let	CONJ

à	yɔ́	kán	há	mú	klà.	nɛ́	kàntètè	yè	**éé**
1PL	go	SC	give	3SG	greet	CONJ	dog	say	INTJ

séé	sén	kó	ó	yè	díá	ná	á	yɔ́	èn
goat	matter	INDEF	2SG	say	DEM	COND	1PL	go	3SG-FUT

yíɛ̀	ání	à?'
leave	1PL	PART

'One day, goat went to see dog and told him that he had heard that hyena had come back from Mecca so they should go and greet him. Then dog, in utter surprise, asked the goat *ei* goat if we go there will hyena leave us (not eat us up)?'
(doy_20161122_42_EDD_KMNSADKNANAK_more folktales and idioms_cont # 68)

In example (22), the elephant was raising partridge, guinea fowl and fowl. After it had brought them a good feed of ants, it went to take some rest. Just when it was about to go into a deep sleep, the animals started perking his buttocks. In anger and disbelief, probably at why they would do that after it had adequately fed them, it woke up and muttered the interjection *áá* to express its mental state.

The affirmative interjection *yòò* in example (23) is used to indicate the permission rabbit gave dog when the latter told the former it was turning the meat on the fire. The meat in question had been brought by the dog for the rabbit to use in preparing some potion to enable the dog to stop stealing. In order for the meat to be used, it first had to be roasted until it dried up. While the meat was roasting on the fire, the dog could not help but salivate because of the fat that was pouring into the fire. It thus told the rabbit several times to turn the meat so it would dry on all sides. The rabbit, knowing how tempted the dog was, would always agree, though skeptically, for the dog to turn the meat. The rabbit also added the caveat that it was up to the dog to ensure the meat was ready to be used to prepare the potion the next morning. By morning, the meat had been eaten by the dog. This thus validated the rabbit's skepticism.

Lastly, the use of the interjection *éé* in example (24) is used to indicate the shock and surprise felt by dog when goat suggested they go and greet the hyena. The dog felt surprised at goat's invitation since the hyena was known to eat other animals. The goat was also confident that because the hyena had returned from Mecca, it would have changed its ways and be a good practising Muslim.

Two secondary interjections that have been identified in most interactions in Dompo are *Bwàrèngò!* 'God' and *àmpésìáná!* 'People/everyone'. These secondary interjections fall in the

category of nouns. In their expression as interjections, however, they always occur after the primary interjection *éé* and are thus expressed as *éé Bwàrèngò!* and *éé àmpésìáná!* The following extracts from some tales in Dompo illustrate their usage.

25.

'kó	è	lúá	fáárɔ́	tó	nɛ́	kó	bá	yɛ́
REL	3SG	enter	bush	INT	CONJ	INDEF	come	say

éé	*Bwàrèngò*!	yɛ́	mí	Búàrè	kò	nyúálɛ́	ló	à'
INTJ	God!	say	1SG	God	FOC	good	like this	Q

'As soon as he entered the bush, someone came to say (in shock) God! Is it my God who is good like this?'

(doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_some folktales and idioms_ # 23)

26.

'nɛ́	nyìnè	kó	bá	yɛ́	*éé*	*àmpésìáná*	nɛ́	bì	húlà'
CONJ	man	INDEF	come	say	INTJ	people	CONJ	3PL	respond

'And a certain man came to say to them (in disbelief) People! And they responded'

(doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_some folktales and idioms_ #35)

In example (25), the interjection is used by the speaker, who finds a tattered cloth in the bush unexpectedly. The owner of the cloth, unhappy with how tattered the cloth was, was about to take his life because he claimed that he had nothing. The speaker, who did not even have anything to cover him, thus found the tattered cloth and was in shock and surprised that God had blessed him with something he had been praying for. The moral of the story is that we should be grateful for the little things we have in life. In example (26), the speaker uses the interjection *éé àmpésìáná!* to express his surprise at seeing the use of a metal sieve to sieve flour, when all he was used to was the use of the cloth. He thus expresses this surprise to the people by calling their attention first, before telling them the source of his surprise.

Some circumstances under which they used the interjections included when they sent a child on an errand and the child did not come back in time or did not return with what the speaker requested. The speaker would utter either of these interjections to show their surprise at the incompetence of the child. Also, sometimes, when animals, especially goats, sheep and fowl entered the room of the speaker (this occurred frequently especially when one forgot to lock their doors) to eat food left in the room, the speaker, out of shock shouted either of these interjections, as if to call on people to come and witness what the animal had done or for God's intervention. In both scenarios, there was an underlying expression of frustration. The speakers, in as much as they were surprised at what was going on, were also frustrated with the situations and were calling on God or people to express their frustration.

6.3.1.2 Structure of interjections in Dompo

As noted in chapter 2 (§2. 8. 1.) on the syllable structure of Dompo, the language exhibits four main syllable structures, CV, CCV, V and CVC. The syllable structure of interjections in Dompo

thus deviates from these forms, with the exception of the interjection *prú*. Observe the syllable structures below.

Syllable type	Interjections
VV	*éé! áá!, ɛ̀ɛ́!, ɔ̀ɔ́, áì!, áò!,*
VVC	*óów, íín!,*
VCV	*èhɛ́*
VCVV	*èhɛ́ɛ̀!, àhɑ̃́ɑ̃̀!*
VVCV	*ɔ́ɔ̀hɔ́!*
CVV	*húú!, hɛ́ɛ̀, yòò, héì!, káì!,*
CVVCV	*dààbí*
CVCC	*búss*
CCV	*prú!*

Table 15. Syllable structure of interjections.

Interjections in Dompo can also be made up of only consonants or consonants in a sequence. This is demonstrated in example (27) below.

27 *mhm!*   'confirmation/understanding'

   mmhm!   'disagreement/disapproval'

   mm!   'unbearable pain'

   sss   'used to call the attention of someone at a distance'

   ʃʃʃ   'used to signal people, especially children, to keep quiet'

Generally, some of the interjections can be lengthened or repeated to achieve intensity or some other desired effect. For instance, to show extreme surprise at something, a person will use the interjection ***héɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀*** which can be accompanied by the enlarging of the eyes and an opening of the mouth. To mock or shame someone, the speaker would usually lengthen the vowel by saying ***hùúúúú*** to further mock and shame the person. This interjection can be accompanied by the raising of the hand and pointing of all fingers towards the addressee. Similarly, in order to further grasp the attention of the addressee, the speaker might prolong the hissing interjection *ssssss* and

additionally intensify the energy with which it is said if it is clear the addressee is not responding to the call. Furthermore, the interjection *áò!* can be repeated severally *áò! áò! áò! áò!* to express the extent of pain the speaker might be feeling. This might be accompanied by the holding of the affected area of pain be it the stomach or leg, as well as distraught and pained expression on the speakers face.

6.3.2 Classification of interjections in Dompo

Ameka (1992a: 113) proposes three classifications of interjections based on their communicative functions and the meanings they predict. These classes of interjections are expressive, conative and phatic interjections. The following sections explain them with appropriate examples.

6.3.2.1 Expressive interjections

Vocal signals that are used to express the mental state of the speaker are termed expressive interjections. There are two types of expressive interjections, namely emotive and cognitive interjections. Emotive interjections express the speaker's state with respect to his or her emotions or sensations at a particular time while cognitive interjections pertain to the speaker's state of knowledge and thoughts at the time of the utterance (Ameka 1992a: 113). Examples of emotive interjections in Dompo include *éé!* 'surprise/shock', *áá!* 'anger /disbelief', *áì!* 'tiredness' and *áò* 'unbearable pain'. Cognitive interjections include *mhm!* 'confirmation/understanding', *mmhm!* 'disagreement/ disapproval', *dààbí* 'denial' and *yòò* 'agreement'.

6.3.2.2 Conative interjections

Conative interjections are directed at an auditor or listener to bring out certain responses or emotional reactions from them. Conative interjections are used to also draw the listener's attention towards the speaker. An example of conative interjections that is used to draw the attention of human auditors is *héì!* 'used to call the attention of someone'. It is, however, considered derogatory when used in calling someone. Thus, a speaker would mostly use it to call the attention of someone he or she is annoyed with or is having a feud with. *sss* 'used to call the attention of someone at a distance' and *ʃʃʃ* 'used to signal people, especially children to keep quiet'. Conative interjections that signal attention from animals include káì! 'used to sack animals especially goats and sheep', *búss* 'used to call cats' and *Ɵ* 'used to call dogs'

6.3.2.3 Phatic interjection

Phatic interjections are used by the speaker to establish and maintain communicative contact between interlocuters. In their performance, some mechanisms such as feedback signaling may be given by either the speaker or the listener. This may serve as a reassurance measure from both interlocuters to signify their presence in an interaction. Examples in Dompo include *yɔ́ɛ̀* 'go on,

we are with you', *èhɛ́ɛ̀!* 'expression of emphasis/ remembering something out of the blue', *èhɛ́* 'expression to persuade the speaker to continue speaking', **mhm!** 'expression of confirmation/understanding' and **mmhm!** 'expression of disagreement/ /disapproval.

6.4 Particles

Particles are described as linguistic elements such as sounds and words that are syntactically dependent on other elements in a clause and further integrate well into the clauses they occur in (Ameka 1992a: 107). They are used to express the attitudes or perspectives of the speaker towards a proposition and also to modify the illocutionary force of an utterance. Particles cannot occur on their own. They need a contextual basis to fully operate and make meaning. The particles identified in Dompo all occur clause finally. They are illustrated in the example below.

28. *òò*   'particle used to tone down an illocutionary effect'

    ɛ̀   'particle used to urge people to do something'

    pɛ́ɛ́   'particle used to strengthen illocutionary force'

    à   'question particle'

    nà   'focus particle'

Each particle, together with appropriate discourse examples they are used in is discussed in the sections below.

6.4.1 Utterance particle *òò*

This clause final particle is a marker used to tone down the effect of an illocutionary force in an utterance. Similarly, the particle can be used to highlight a caution given to the addressee by the speaker. Furthermore, a speaker uses it as part of an advisory mechanism to dissuade an addressee from doing certain things, thereby mitigating the illocutionary force of speech. It can further be used to mark surprise at something that should have been done by a referent but was not done. Finally, this particle can also be used as an outlet for the release of some emotions felt by the speaker. The following are examples from some conversations and folktales in the language.

29a. *é*   *mán*   *tín*   *bà*   *òò*.   *mín*   *yɔ́*   *kpá*   *kó*
     1SG   NEG-FUT   BE.ABLE   come   PART   1SG-FUT   go   place   INDEF
     'I cannot come. I will go somewhere'

b.   *ó*   *mán*   *lìrè* *kábrè* *òò*. *bùárè* *wá*   *èn*   *bá*
     2SG   NEG   exit   today   PART   rain   DET   3SG-FUT   come
     'Do not go out today. It will rain'

c.   *'sèpè*   *mù*   *kó*   *è*   *fú*   *mú*   *ká*   *nɛ́*
       ear   3SG   FOC   3SG   marry   3SG   wife   CONJ

       kàpní   *bá*   *lèè*   *mú.*   *nɛ́*   *è*   *yɛ́*   *è*
       mosquito   come   like   3SG   CONJ   3SG   say   3SG

       léé   *mú*   *nɛ́*   *kàhàlé*   *yɛ́*   *chèè*   *díá*   *màà*   *ó*
       like   3SG   CONJ   hand   say   woman   DEM   NEG   2SG

       léé   *yɛ́*   *ná*   *òò'*
       like   COP   FOC   PART

       "Ear married his wife and the mosquito also liked her. But the hand advised the mosquito against liking the ear's wife'

       (doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_some folktales and idioms_ #10)

Example (29a) instantiates the use of the particle *òò* to reduce the directness of the speaker's reply towards a request he cannot fulfil. It was uttered by my youngest consultant who had been requested by an elderly person to accompany him to Banda Ahenkro. Since my consultant felt it was an impromptu request, and having already made other plans, he let the elder know this. His use of the particle *òò* at the end of the utterance was used to mitigate the effect of directness of the utterance. *òò* in example (b) is used at the end of a piece of advice given by the speaker to highlight a caution and to further not sound commanding. By not sounding commanding, the speaker expects the addressee to heed the former's advice of caution. This could be uttered by a mother who is trying to coerce the child not to go out and play but to stay at home because it will rain.

In example (c), the body parts ear and hand are anthropomorphized and are characters in the story. *òò* is used as an end of clause particle by the hand to the mosquito. The story illustrates how the mosquito went ahead to want the wife of ear against the advice of the hand. The particle is used here to sound a word of caution to the mosquito about the dangers of wanting the ear's wife. It further serves as a reinforcing mechanism where the hand adds the particle to make the utterance have a more serious connotation to it. The mosquito, however, defied the advice, went ahead and was cursed by the ear to always not be able to sleep or have peace of mind but to roam around.

As stated earlier, *òò* can also be used to mark surprise of the speaker. The speaker can also use it to release some emotions. Consider the examples below.

30a.   *'dáŋàá*   *nɛ́*   *lèŋè*   *è*   *bísà*   *nànsè*   *yɛ́*   *nɔ́ɔ̀*   *ó*
       so   CONJ   crocodile   3SG   ask   spider   say   what   2SG

       léé   *nfèè?*   *nɛ́*   *nànsè*   *yè*   *è*   *nú*   *fnɛ́*   *ó*   *krè*
       want   here   CONJ   spider   say   3SG   hear   that   2SG   bear

mù	*né*	*è*	*yé*	*mín*	*bá*	*há*	*wò*	*klà.*	*è*
3SG	CONJ	3SG	say	1SG-FUT	come	give	2SG	greet	3SG

mìn	*yé*	*fné*	*bòn*	*kèè*	*mú*	*òò'*
NEG	say	that	river	take	3SG	PART

'So, when crocodile asked spider what it wanted in its home, the spider answered that it had heard that crocodile had given birth and so came to greet it. It did not say that the river had carried it there'

(doy_20161122_42_EDD_KMNSADKNANAK_more folktales and idioms_cont # 66)

b.

'bì	*yé*	*mí*	*klú*		*wù*	*òò.*	*mí*	*klú*
3PL	say	1SG	husband		die	PART	1SG	husband

wù.	*mán*	*nyá*	*kò*	*àlè'*
die	NEG-FUT	get	INDEF	again

'They say my husband is dead. My husband is dead. I will not get another again'

(doy_20161118_37_EDD_NSAKMDKNANAK_some folktales in Dompo # 3).

The folktale in example (30a) illustrates the use of the particle *òò* to enhance the narrator's surprise. Thus, the narrator expresses surprise at the fact that the spider, who should have told the crocodile the main reason it was in the latter's cave, did not. The spider fell into a river and was carried away. It landed in the cave of a blind crocodile who asked the spider what it wanted in its cave. The spider, however, could not tell the crocodile the truth. In example (b), *òò* serves to add to the release of the pent-up emotions felt by the speaker. It serves as a mechanism the speaker uses to further mourn the loss of her husband, who she believes cannot be replaced.

6.4.2   Utterance particle ὲ

This particle is used at the end of utterances in Dompo as an urging mechanism by the speaker to get the listener to do what the speaker wants. In some cases, *ὲ* is used with an underlying tone of impatience or annoyance from the speaker towards the addressee. Observe some examples from some folktales in the language.

31a.

'plò	*mùà*		*nè*	*wè*	*né*	*bì*	*nyà*	*kásíí̋*
frog	3SG-IND		CONJ	snake	CONJ	3PL	get	argument

né	*plò*	*è*	*chíná*	*nè*	*wè*	*yè*	*èn*
CONJ	frog	3SG	sit	CONJ	snake	say	3SG-FUT

mné		*mú*	*né*	*plò*	*yè*	*dáŋàá*	*í*	*nà*
swallow		3SG	CONJ	frog	say	then	let	CONJ

à	*yɔ́*	*kpá*	*nchààrá*	*ὲ'*
1PL	go	road	cross	PART

'Frog and snake had an argument and snake said it will swallow frog. And frog said they should go to the roadside (to have a fight)'

(doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_some folktales and idioms_ # 28)

b.

'né	kàntètè	yè	éé	séé	sén	kó	ó	yè
CONJ	dog	say	INTJ	goat	matter	INDEF	2SG	say

díá	ná	á	yɔ́	èn		yîè	ání	à?
DEM	COND	1PL	go	3SG-FUT		leave	1PL	PART

nè	séé	yè	áà	kó	è	yɔ́	Mákà	kán
CONJ	goat	say	INTJ	REL	3SG	go	Mecca	SC

bà	díá	è	búú	Bùárè	è.	è	màm
come	DEM	3SG	cover	God	PART	3SG	NEG-FUT

bɔ́	sè	mlà'
do	matter	bad

'And dog said to the goat this matter you have said, when we go will he leave us? And goat said because he (hyena) has just come back from Mecca, he will not do any bad'

(doy_20161122_42_EDD_KMNSADKNANAK_more folktales and idioms_cont # 68)

Examples (31a and b) illustrate situations where the speaker employs the particle at the end of the clause to challenge the addressee, as seen in example (a), or encourage and urge the addressee, in example (b). In example (a), snake threatens to swallow frog. Frog, who plays smart, challenges the snake to a fight on the crossroad. It purposely did this because it knew that a passerby would kill the snake instead of it. Truly, when they got to the roadside, a man saw them and killed the snake. That is how the frog was saved. In example (b), the goat is seen urging the dog to come along to pay a visit to the hyena, who they had heard had returned from Mecca. To the goat, the hyena going to Mecca implied it had repented from its ways of doing bad. It turned out that the dog was right in being skeptical of the hyena's change of ways. The hyena ended up catching and eating the goat up when the goat and the dog paid it the visit.

c.

'né	mù	dá	yè	làŋè	ání	kàmnè.	bì	yè
CONJ	3SG	elder	say	return	1PL	back	3PL	say

bàshìà	lèlè	ánúú	chénú	fŭá	péé.	nè
PL-person	good	or	or	2SG-IND	PART	CONJ

bì	yé	bí	yí	mù	yɔ́	è...'
3PL	say	3PL	let	3SG	go	PART

'And his elder sibling said get behind us. They are calling for wise people and not you at all. And they said let him go (scornfully)'

(doy_20161118_37_EDD_NSAKMDKNANAK_some folktales in Dompo # 5).

Finally, in example (c), the speaker reveals the impatience, scorn and annoyance he feels towards a younger sibling who is considered dumb by everyone in their community. This interaction ensued between the interlocuters following the battle for the hand in marriage of the most beautiful girl in the village. The girl's father had put forward a puzzle to be solved by the young

men in the community. The younger brother, who was the last person anyone thought would come up to solve the puzzle, stepped up to give it a try. The reaction he received was that of scorn and annoyance because everyone thought him stupid. They thus thought to leave him to go and disgrace himself. He eventually answered the question right and got to marry the beautiful girl.

6.4.3   Utterance particle *pɛ́ɛ́*

pɛ́ɛ́ is used as an utterance final particle to strengthen the illocutionary force of the question being put forward by the speaker (see §5.4 for further discussion). In some cases, its inclusion after a question, though optional, implies that the speaker is not too happy about something that relates to the question being asked. It is also used to enhance a rhetorical question that might not be directly answered by the addressee. Lastly, it is used to depict an underlying tone of impatience on the part of the speaker towards something the addressee or someone else has done or is doing. Consider the following examples.

32a.   '*mnɛ́*   *kó*   *è*   *yɛ́*   *ó*   *krɔ́*   *nó*   *ò*   *bíí*
        who   FOC   3SG   tell   2SG   side   CONJ   2SG   know

        fnɛ́   *mí*   *nyìnè*   *lè*   *kɛ̀*   ***pɛ́ɛ́*?'**
        that   1SG   name   be   tomorrow   PART

        'Who is it that told you and let you know that my name is tomorrow (at all)?'

        (doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_some folktales and idioms_ # 24)

b.   "*séé*   *nɛ́*   *bì*   *ŋà*   *ásɔ́*   *bù*   *rɔ́*   *nɛ́*   *bì*   *jòò*
      goat   REL   3PL   put   thing   room   in   CONJ   3PL   chase

      mú   *nó*   *ó*   *jòò*   *mú*   *è*   *láŋè*   *kán*   *bà*   *ó*
      3SG   COND   2SG   chase   3SG   3SG   return   SC   come   2SG

      jòò   *mú*   *è*   *láŋè*   *kán*   *bà.*   *nɛ́nɛ́*   *è*   *yá*   *jì*   ***pɛ́ɛ́*"**
      chase   3SG   3SG   return   SC   come   where   3SG   go   eat   PART

      'When something is put in the room and the goat comes to take it and it is chased away repeatedly, do you know where it goes to eat?'

      (doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_some folktales and idioms_ # 26)

In example (32a) above, the particle is used at the end of the clause to show the annoyance of the speaker with the crab who had revealed the secret of his name to the former's young brother. The story is of two brothers, an elder one and a younger one. Whenever the elder one prepares food to eat, he will not give any to the younger one because the latter could not reveal the former's name. When the younger one went to wash the bowls after the meals, he would eat the scraps of food left from the cooking. The crab, who had noticed that the boy never threw any left-over food to it, asked the reason why the boy would be eating the scraps of food left. The boy then told the crab what his brother's request was. The crab therefore revealed the name of the elder brother to the

younger one. The elder brother's name was Tomorrow. Thus, the extract above is the utterance of the elder brother who was angry at the fact that his brother had found out and revealed his name.

In example (b), the particle is used to enhance the rhetorical nature of the question asked the addressee. In the Dompo community, the goat is one of the animals that is very worrisome when it comes looking for food to eat. The goat can attempt to enter a room multiple times. The question asked the addressee, though a rhetorical one, indicates that no one really knows where the goat really gets to eat from because it roams from one home to the other, searching for something to eat.

c.   'né   séé   jòmkprá   né   bì   yɔ́   kán   lùà   yέ
     CONJ   goat   lead   CONJ   3PL   go   SC   arrive say

     àgòò   né   kùnù   è   húlà   yέ   mné   ná   **péé?'**
     greet   CONJ   hyena   3SG   respond   say   who   FOC   PART

     'And the goat took the lead and they arrived and called the hyena's attention and he responded and asked who is it (at all)?'

     (doy_20161122_42_EDD_KMNSADKNANAK_more folktales and idioms_cont # 68)

A final purpose of the use of the particle *péé* reveals how the speaker feels about the actions of the addressee. In example (c), the hyena is upset about a possible disturbance from the goat and the dog. It also indicates that the hyena was not expecting any visitors and was thus annoyed at the intrusion of its privacy.

6.4.4   Question particle à

à is the general question particle in Dompo. It is used by the speaker to ascertain some feedback from the listener. The feedback the speaker wants is one that mostly answers his or her question or supports the claim he or she has put forward. The question particle *à* turns grammatical declarative sentences into interrogatives. See (§5.4.1) for further discussions on the question particle. The following are examples of the use of the question particle in folktales.

33a. 'kó   á   kàà   díá   ó   tín   wù   né   bì
      REL   1PL   wake   DEM   2SG   BE.ABLE   see   CONJ   3PL

      kéé   sré   nyɔ̀̃   kán   bɔ́   jísɔ́   **à?'**
      take   stone   two   SC   make   eat-thing   PART

      "Since we have been living can you see that they have used two stones to cook"

      (doy_20161118_37_EDD_NSAKMDKNANAK_some folktales in Dompo # 6).

b.   'né   è   yέ   mí   kòó   é   yὲ   mù.   né
      REL   3SG   say   1SG   REFL   1SG   say   3SG   COND

      ó   níí   kùrè   ó   né   ó   sópó   bì   jí
      2SG   mother bear   2SG   CONJ   2SG   young   3PL   eat

      kán   yìὲ   mú   **à?'**

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SC	leave	3SG	PART

'And he (crab) told him I said it. When your mother give birth to you and your young sibling do you eat and leave him to go hungry?'

(doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_some folktales and idioms_ # 24)

In the both examples above, the interrogative marker is used to address the listener and to seek an appropriate answer. In (33a), the addressee is asked a question that pertains to the use of the erected clay posts for cooking. These three posts are made of clay and firewood is inserted in the middle to cook food. A pot is safely secured by the three posts. A pot will, however, topple over if only two posts are used. The speaker is thus asking a rhetorical question to further ascertain if the listener has seen two posts that served as a support for a pot. The obvious answer will be no. Example (b) is a continuation of the story in example (32a) above. After the younger sibling tells the elder one his name, the latter, very angry, goes to ask the crab why it told his secret to the younger brother. The crab, in its defense, asks the elder brother the question in question (b). Though the crab's question demanded an answer, it also served as a medium of reflection of one's (the elder brother's) behavior, whether good or bad.

6.4.5 *Focus particle nà*

This particle also discussed in (§5.6.2), is used at the end of a clause to highlight the object it focuses. It is also used to reference a particular point of interest in an utterance. In all the folk tale narratives, *nà* is used at the end of the story in the phrase *mù ntnɔ́ nà* 'that is its meaning'. Observe some examples.

34a.	'nànsè	kó	è	káá	kán	yá	trɔ	bón	rɔ́
	spider	INDEF	3SG	wake	SC	go	fall	river	in

nè	bón	wá	è	kéé	mú.	kó	è	kéé	mú
CONJ	river	DET	3SG	take	3SG	REL	3SG	take	3SG

wá	nɔ́ɔ	è	yá	lùá?	è	yá	lùá	lèŋè
DET	where	3SG	go	arrive	3SG	go	arrive	crocodile

pé	rɔ́	lɛŋɛ	wá	rɛ́	trà	pó	**nà**'
hole	in	crocodile	DET	TOP	blind	person	PART

'Spider fell into a river. The river carried it. It carried it and it landed in the cave of the crocodile. The crocodile was blind'.

(doy_20161122_42_EDD_KMNSADKNANAK_more folktales and idioms_cont # 66)

b.	'né	è	kàà	yɛ́	áá!	bá	mnɛ́	kó
	CONJ	3SG	wake	say	INTJ	PL	who	INDEF

bì	bɔ́	sén	díá	pɛ̀ɛ	né	dòòwè	yè	màá."
3PL	do	matter	this	PART	CONJ	partridge	say	NEG

ání	**nà**.	yɛ́	kòsí	**nà**.	né	chɛ̀	yè	màá	ání

1PL	PART	say	fowl	PART	say	guinea fowl		say	NEG	1PL

nà   *yɛ́*   *kòsí*   *nà'*
PART   say   fowl   PART.

'Then he got up and asked which people did this (at all)? And partridge said it is not us, it is fowl. And guinea fowl said it is not us it is fowl'

(doy_20161118_37_EDD_NSAKMDKNANAK_Some folktales in Dompo # 1).

Example (34a) is the introductory part to the sequel found in example (30a). Here, the focus particle *nà* is used to describe the crocodile and its condition of blindness. In example (b), we see in several places the use of the focus particle *nà* to refer to the objects of focus in the narrative. In each case, the particle occurs at the end of the clause.

35a.

'nó	*ó*	*báà*	*wù*	*nɛ́*	*bì*	*yɛ́*	*ó*	*yá*
COND	2SG	come	see	CONJ	3PL	say	2SG	go

léé	*dɛ̀ɛ̀*	*kám*	*bá*	*nó*	*ó*	*wúrá*	*hàlé*	*nsìnɛ́*
want	fire	SC	come	CONJ	2SG	enter	hand	ash

rɛ́	*lóŋóá*	*mù*	*ntnɔ́*	*nà'*
TOP	then	3SG	bottom	PART

'If you come and see that they say go and look for fire and you put your hand in the ashes, then that is the meaning'

(doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_some folktales and idioms_ # 27)

b.

'nó	*ó*	*báà*	*wù*	*nɛ́*	*ŋglà*	*è*	*yɔ́*	*ŋkɛ̀lɔ́*	*léé*
COND	2SG	come	see	CONJ	crab	3SG	go	side	like this

rɛ́	*mù*	*ntnɔ́*	*nà'*
TOP	3SG	bottom	PART

'If you come and see that crab goes sideways like this, then that is the meaning'

(doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_some folktales and idioms_ # 24)

The above examples illustrate how the focus particle is used as a clause final particle to reference points of interest and summarize the meanings of events in a narrative. In example (35a), the meaning of events that is being focused is the fact that if someone is sent to fetch fire and comes back with ashes on their hands, it was because previously, if people who were sent to fetch fire and came back without ashes on their hands were thought not to have gone on the errand. Also, in example (35b), the focus particle highlights the meaning of the event that led to the crab walking sideways. This narrative is a continuation of the version in example (33b) above. Thus, the crab was hit with a stick by the elder brother when he found out that crab had revealed his name to his younger brother. Thus, the hit the crab received is the reason it walks the way it does now.

6.5   *Routine expressions*

Routine expressions are discussed in detail in these sections because it is important to document these basic communicative mechanisms that are part of the everyday life of a community. Since

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Dompo is being documented so it can be revitalized and spoken frequently, it is essential that every aspect of routine expressions is described.

Routine expressions are those day to day expressions that community members use in interacting with one another at any given point in time. These expressions are socially specific and formulaic. There is a pattern to them that members understand and respond to appropriately. The use of these expressions indicates the good relationship that exists between the interlocuters. Some particles have phatic functions (see §6.4) and so does the correct use of these routine expressions. The focus of this section, routine expressions such as greetings, expressions of welcome, gratitude, congratulations and sympathy have social and cultural norms attached to them and that need to be observed. The circumstances that condition these expressions and the underlying meanings they convey will be explained as well. This section starts with a discussion on greetings in (§6.5.1). This is followed by a discussion on expressions used when expressing gratitude (§6.5.2), congratulations (§6.5.3), sympathy (§6.5.4) and finally, farewells (§6.5.5).

6.5.1   *Greetings*

Greetings are considered an integral part of the social life of the Dompos. They are so important that once that element is missing in an exchange between people, it is sensed that they might not be on good terms. A person who does not greet another is considered as not having respect for that person. Greetings are required upon the first instance of meeting another person. The exchange can be as brief as just exchanging greetings and parting ways right afterwards or it can be lengthy, depending on the relationship between the interlocuters. Some topics of the interaction may centre on the well-being of the respondents and their respective families and what they might perhaps be up to for the day.

Some non-linguistic cues that are related to greetings amongst the Dompos include a young man removing his hat or spectacles when greeting an elderly person. The women are also required to bend one leg or both legs in the process of greeting an elderly person. In the olden days, people who came around to greet the elders of the community had to remove their footwear before greeting them. There are also instances where greetings are not required upon meeting another person. Such instances include when an elderly person is on the way to use the toilet. He or she will neither greet nor respond to a greeting. Knowing a person is going to use the toilet is sometimes evident from the direction[37] the person is headed in Dompofie. When one meets a

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[37] There are a number of houses in Dompofie that have the sanitary facility popularly known as KVIP (Kumasi Ventilated-Improved Pit). This is a pit latrine built by digging a deep hole in the ground and a shelter over it. These latrines are usually located behind the homes of the owners or at a central place where a number of households share in its usage. Others also use the ones built for communal usage. There are separate ones for both males and females and the paths to get to them are also different. Thus, if a male or female is headed in that direction without holding any farming tools, it is most probable that they are on their way to use the toilet and thus must not be greeted.

person in this situation, one passes by without greeting. It is, however, appropriate to greet an elderly person who is coming back from using the toilet and for that elderly person to respond.

Because bathrooms are built as detached facilities in Dompofie and are located outside the homes, one will want to greet a person taking a bath when passing by. It is inappropriate for a male passerby to greet a female who is bathing and who is not married to him and vice-versa. If there should be any exchange of greeting and further conversation between them under such a condition, it will be assumed that the two are having an affair. It is, however, acceptable for a member of the same sex to greet the other and for them to carry on with a conversation after the greeting. Furthermore, the elders are not greeted, neither do they respond to greetings when they are going to perform rituals to appease the gods. My consultants were quick to add that all these norms and values are not being strictly observed in recent times because the society has become more liberal and fallen under the influence of modernity.

Greetings are delivered according to the time of the day. There are morning, afternoon and evening greetings.

6.5.1.1 Morning greetings

Morning greetings in Dompo have the underlying meaning of appreciating the blessings of a new day and the lives of the people in the greeting exchange. They tell the other person you are happy to see him or her alive. Observe the following greeting exchange.

36. A: *ntrô é hɛ̌ wó klá*
father 1SG give 2SG greet
'father, I greet you'

B: *klà mí bí. ó kàà fóófó à?*
greet 1SG child. 2SG wake well PART
'Greet my child (Response). Did you wake up well?

A: *ɛ̀ɛ́ é kàà fóófó*
INTJ 1SG wake well
'Yes, I woke up well'

B: *á hɛ̌ Bwàrèngò³⁸ lɛ̀ɛ́*
1PL give God thank
'We thank God (for life)'

Alternatively, speaker A could precede the greeting with the appropriate kinship term depending on whom he or she is greeting. Also, if the speaker is greeting a number of people who are seated at one place, he or she uses the plural marker *bìì* 'plural' and greets *bìì klá*. If it is an elderly person doing the greeting, the person may say,

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[38] The word for God has the variant forms *Bwàrè, Bwàrèn, Bùàrèngò and* and *Gbwàrèngò* These are used interchangeably in speeches.

37. *àmpésìáná*   *bìì*   *klá*   *òò*
    People   PL   greet   PART
    'Greetings, people'

6.5.1.2 Afternoon greetings

Afternoon greetings are meant to acknowledge the presence of the interactants and for them to find out from each other the situation in their households. The question *lànɔ́ lìrè à*? is used mostly when one responds to both afternoon and evening greetings. Also notice that the first vowel /a/ in *ápáá* in speaker A's greeting is deleted in speaker B's response. Observe this in the exchange below.

38. A: *Ámá,*   *ápáá*
            name   afternoon
            'Good afternoon Ámà'

    B: *pàà*   *mí*   *nákpáá*
            afternoon   1SG   friend
            'Good afternoon my friend'

    B: *lànɔ̀*   *lìrè*[39]   *a?*
            house   exit   PART
            'The house you are from (is everything okay)'?

    A: *ɔ̀ɔ́*
            INTJ
            'Yes'

6.5.1.3 Evening greetings and night farewells

Evening greetings, just like afternoon greetings, acknowledge the presence of the interactants and further serve to reinforce that element of phatic union amongst the community members. It is during this period of greeting that the interactants get to talk about their day's work. Those who have been away at the farm most of the day talk about what they have been up to on their farms. Such an interchange is exemplified in (§6.5.1.6, example 44). Generally, in any greeting exchange, the kinship title is added to the greetings. It does not matter if the person one is greeting is the biological mother or father. The kinship titles in the exchange are used to refer to any older male or female. The one who responds also uses these titles. What follows the first exchange is the question of how each other's family is faring and other issues happening in their individual homes. The exchange below is an example of evening greeting exchange.

39. A: *ntrô/níí*   *áséé*
            father/mother   evening
            'Good evening father/mother'

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[39] *Lìrè* comes before the question marker *a*. In speech, its last vowel is deleted and replaced with the question marker *a*. The word is thus heard as *lìrà*.

B: *sèè*   *níí*
      evening   mother
      'Good evening'

Furthermore, when the interactants are finally taking leave of each other, they exchange night farewells which centre on God's protection throughout the night and ushering them into a new day. The following are examples of interchanges of night farewells.

40.   A: *mín*   *yá*   *dèhè*
          1SG.FUT go   sleep
          'I am going to sleep'

      B: *Bwàrè yí nò ó   déhè lèlè*
          God let CONJ 2SG sleep well
          'May God let you sleep well'

      B: *né kádé ŋkè   ànín   sré*
          COND dawn tomorrow 1PL.FUT meet
          'If day breaks, we will meet'

      A: *yòò Bwàrèn   bú àni*
          okay God   cover 1PL
          'okay God cover us'

      B: *Bwàrèn há àní kè*
          God give 1PL tomorrow
          'God give us tomorrow'

6.5.1.4 Greetings when entering into people's homes

Before entering into people's homes and calling their attention to your presence, one may use the conventional attention seeking marker *àgòò* which is used to either seek a person's permission before entering his or her house or seek the attention of an audience whom you want to relay a message to. The response to this greeting is *àmèè* which indicates consent to enter the house or consent to have an audience's full attention. Apart from using this marker, some Dompos will also have the following exchange before the visitor enters the house and conversations about their respective families and the mission of visit follows.

41.   A: *é   bá*
          1SG come
          'I come (I am here)'

      B: *ó mné?*
          2sg who
          'You who?'

      A: *mì Kòfí nà*
          1SG Kòfi FOC
          'It is me Kofi'

6.5.1.5 Greetings when welcoming people

After a visitor to a Dompo home has announced his or her presence, the person is ushered into the home and offered a seat. The visitor is subsequently offered water to cool him or her down after perhaps travelling a distance to pay the visit. After this, they exchange greetings and the host now welcomes the visitor and asks about matters relating to the wellbeing of the visitor's family or even issues relating to things happening in their village. Let us observe the following exchange.

42. A: *lὲὲlὲ* (uttered by the host)
   welcome
   'welcome'

  B: *lὲὲ* *trò /níí*
   thank father / mother
   'Thank you (response) to the welcome'

  A: *làndò* *mánìέ?*[40]
   house matter
   'How are issues at home'?

  A: *ó* *káwí* *mánìέ?*
   2SG village matter
   'How are issues in your village'?

6.5.1.6 Greeting people working on the farm

There are other types of greetings that are required based on the activities carried out by the interlocuters. For instance, it is good neighbourliness to acknowldege the hard work of another person or other people who are working on the farm when you pass by them. One who meets such people first greets and then shares the following.

43. A: *é* *hǎ́* *bán* *klá*
   1SG give 2PL greet
   ' I give you greetings'

  B: *klà* *trò / níí*
   greet father / mother
   'Greet (response) father/mother'

  A: *bí* *bɔ́* *kó*
   2PL do INDEF
   'You have done some work'

  B: *ó* *lὲέ* *nà*
   2SG thank PART
   'Thank you'

Also, when people return from the farm, the following greeting exchange ensues between them and the people they meet at home.

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[40] *mánìέ* is a borrowing from the Akan word *àmànìέ* which has the same meaning.

44.   A: *bí*   *lɛ́ɛ́*   *ndɔ̀ɔ̀*   *rɔ́*
                2PL   welcome   farm   in
                'Welcome from work'

        B: *lɛ̀ɛ̀[41]*   *ntrô[42] / níí*
                thank   father/mother
                'Thank you father/mother'

        A: *ntí*   *sɔ̃̀mì*   *wá*   *dù*
                how   work   DET   plant
                    'How did the work go'

        B: *á*   *tĩ́[43]*   *mú*
                1PL   BE.ABLE   3SG
                'We could do it (for instance, do all the scheduled weeding or planting)'

6.5.1.7 Greeting when people are eating

Usually, when one visits someone and chances upon the person eating, the visitor greets the person eating and might jokingly make a comment about how lucky he or she is to have met food. The person eating will in turn invite the visitor to join him or her. This invitation is a polite norm. The respondent replies by acknowledging the good will of the former and indicates that his or her hands are already in the food as a sign of appreciation. The following exchange illustrates this.

45.   A: *ó*   *wúrá*   *hálé*   (uttered by the visitor)
                2SG   enter   hand
                'Your hand has entered food'

        B: *bà*   *nà*   *á*   *wúrá*   *hálé*
                come   CONJ   1PL   enter   hand
                'Come let us eat'

        A: *mí*   *hálé*   *wɔ̀*   *mù*   *rɔ̀*
                1SG   hand   be at   3SG   in
                'My hands are in it'

6.5.2   Expressing gratitude

The Dompos believe expressing gratitude for whatever a person receives opens doors for further good things to happen in the life of both the giver and the recipient. They thus shower God's blessings upon the giver and wish him or her good life and good health to be able to provide further when the need arises. They again visit the home of the giver early the following morning to express their gratitude for the kindness shown to them the previous day. The following exchange depicts this.

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[41] The morpheme *lɛ̀ɛ̀* in *lɛ̀ɛ̀lɛ̀* 'welcome' looks like the same morpheme in the word *ó lɛ̀ɛ́ nà* 'thank you'.

[42] The word for father has the forms *trò* and *ntrô*. These are used interchangeably.

[43] The /n/ of the possibility marker *tín* is deleted and the nasality is transferred to the vowel as shown in this word.

46.   Recipient: *ó*   *lèέ*   *nà*
    2SG   thank   PART
    'Thank you'

    Bwàrèn   *hǎ*   *ó*   *ŋkpà*   *kán*   *kísì*   *ó*   *lɔ́*
    God   give   2SG   life   SC   hate   2SG   ill
    'God give you life and hate your illness'

    Bwàrèn   *yílí*   *ó*   *kàmnè*   *nò*   *ó*   *má*   *lɔ́*
    God   stand   2SG   back   CONJ   2SG   NEG   ill
    'God be your fortress so that you don't get ill'

    Giver: *àmín.*
    Amen
    'Amen'

    Giver: *ó*   *má*   *hǎ*   *mí*   *lèέ.*   *hằ*   *Gbàrèngò*   *lèέ*
    2SG   NEG   give   1SG   thank.   give   God   thank
    'Don't give me thanks give thanks to God'

The recipient might go to the home of the giver early the next day to thank him or her. The former greets first and proceeds with his words of appreciation. The exchange below is how the conversation might ensue.

47.   Recipient: *chòsò*   *ndré*   *kó*   *ó*   *bɔ́*   *kán*   *hằ*   *mí*
    pass   yesterday   INDEF   2SG   do   SC   give   1SG

    wá   *ó*   *bɔ́*   *kó.*
    DET   2SG   do   INDEF
    'Thank you for what you did for me yesterday. You did some for me'

    Gbàrèngo   *chá*   *wò.*   *kó*   *ó*   *léé*
    God   help   2SG   INDEF   2SG   want

    nè   *ò*   *nyá*
    CONJ   2SG   get
    'May God help you. Whatever you want may you get it'

    Giver: *àmín*
    'Amen'

6.5.3   *Expressing congratulations*

It is considered a good omen for something good to happen to members of the Dompo community. It is viewed as beneficial to everyone. An example might be a woman safely delivering a baby, a couple getting married or a person passing a major exam (see Ameka 1987). The child that has been born is considered an asset to the community as well as the person who has passed the exams. It is the community's prayer that they will grow to be responsible members who will add value to the society. A couple is also congratulated and celebrated when they go

through the process of marriage. These messages are coupled with prayers of God's blessings for the recipients. The following are examples of the congratulatory messages they might receive.

48.   Speaker:

bí	*lé*	*nfɔ́ɔ́*	*nà.*	*Bwàrèn*	*yí*	*nè*	*bì*
2PL	come	far	FOC	God	let	CONJ	2SG

chìná	*kán*	*kùrè*	*mbì*		*lélé*	*kán*	*hǎ̃*	*ání*
live	SC	bear	PL-child		good	SC	give	2PL

'You have come far. God let you live to bear good children for us'

Speaker:

Bwàrè	*yí*	*nè*	*bán*	*kánú*	*bɔ́*	*kòólè*
God	let	CONJ	2PL	mouth	make	one

'God let you be united as one'

b.   Speaker:

ó	*bɔ́*	*kó.*	*ó*	*yà*	*kɛ́ɛ́*	*kán*	*yɔ̀*
2SG	do	INDEF.	2SG	go	write	SC	go

ó	*nyíírɔ́.*
2SG	face

Gbàrèngo	*yí*	*nè*	*ò*	*yɔ́*	*ó*	*nyíírɔ́*	*ló*
God	let	CONJ	2SG	go	2SG	face	like that

'You have done well. You have gone forward (by passing your exams). May God let you move forward like that'

Response: *àmín.*
               'Amen'

6.5.4   *Expressing Sympathy*

Misfortunes are everyday occurrences in life and are bound to happen to any member of the society. In this regard, Dompos express solidarity with any member who experiences any misfortune such as death or an accident (see Ameka 1987). They do this by going to the home of the person going through this phase to share some comforting words and words of encouragement. These are some of the expressions used.

49.   Speaker: *bwàlè̀*
                       'sorry'

Speaker:

bí	*yìɛ́*	*mú*	*kán*	*hǎ̃*	*Gbárèngò*
2PL	leave	3SG	SC	give	God

'Leave it (the situation) to God'

Response:

á	*nú.*	*bí*	*lɛ̀ɛ́*	*nà*
1PL	hear.	3PL	thank	PART

'We have heard. We thank you'

6.5.5   *Expressing farewell*

There are expressions in Dompo that are spoken to a person taking leave of another or going on a journey. These expressions centre on prayers for God's guidance throughout the journey and for a good transportation mode for the person travelling. These are some of the expressions used.

50.   Speaker: *yɔ̀-m   bà   /   yɔ̀   kám   bà*
go-SC   come   go   SC   come
'Go and come back'   'Go and come back'

Speaker: *Gbàrèngò   hɑ̌   wó   kló   lὲlὲ*
God   give   2SG   car   good
'God give you a good car to travel in'

Speaker: *Gbàrèngò   yí   nó   ò   yá   lùá   nɔ́   jɔ̀ɔ̀*
God   let   CONJ   2SG   go   arrive   there   smooth
'God let you arrive (at your destination) smoothly'

Response: *àmín.*
'Amen'

Chapter 7: CLAUSE STRUCTURE, NON-VERBAL AND LOCATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses verbal clauses in Dompo. The various constituents in this clause and their syntactic order are elaborated on in (§7.2). The grammatical relations between arguments and their predicates will also be analyzed in (§7.3). Further on in (§7.4) is a discussion on copula clauses. Subsections under this include, (§7.4.1), attributive copula clauses (§7.4.2) and possessive copula clauses (§7.4.3). Verbless clauses follow this in (§7.4.4). Existential, locative and possessive constructions are examined next in (§7.5). Basic locative constructions follow in (§7.6). Subsections include, the semantics and functions of the locative verbs (§7.6.1), the general locative verb (§7.6.1.1), postural verbs (§7.6.1.2), adhesion verb (§7.6.1.2.8), attachment verb (§7.6.1.2.9), distributional verb (§7.6.1.2.10) and propinquity verb (§7.6.1.2.11). The chapter ends with an exploration of Basic locative constructions in (§7.6).

7.2 Constituent Order

In chapter four (§4. 4. 1. §4.4.2and §4.4.3), we explored sentence constructions dealing with one, two and three place predicates. In all these constructions, the basic order of the constituents is indicated in the schema in example (1) below.

1. SUBJECT — VERB — GOAL/RECIPIENT — THEME — ADJUNCT
                      Object 1   Object 2

The dominant order of constituents in the clause in Dompo is SVO, just like in most Kwa languages. In a simple intransitive sentence, the order is SV while order is SVO in a simple transitive sentence. The subject always occurs initially. In a double object construction, the goal or recipient occurs first, followed by the theme, which is subsequently followed by an adjunct. In this case, the order is represented as SV(D)O. All these constituents occur postverbally. The following examples illustrate the basic clause types in Dompo.

2a. *Kòfí yɔ́* / *Kòfí è yɔ́*
    NAME go   NAME 3SG go
    'Kofi went'   'Kofi went'

b. *Kòfí wù Ámá* / *Kòfí è wú Ámá*
   NAME see Ama   NAME 3SG see Ama
   'Kofi saw Ama'   'Kofi saw Ama'

c. *Ámá hɑ̃́ Kòfí ŋɔ̀sré wá wɔ̀ bù wá rɔ́*
   NAME give NAME money DET be at room DET POST
   'Ama gave the money to Kofi in the room'

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d. *Ámá   hɛ̌   ŋɔ̀sré   wá   Kòfí   wɔ̀   bù   wá   rɔ́
    NAME give   money DET   NAME be at   room DET   POST
    'Ama gave the money to Kofi in the room'

In examples (2a and b), the alternate constructions show the 3SG pronominal form, occurring before the verbs yɔ́ 'go' and wù 'see' and co-referencing the noun, Kofi. The pronominal form is used to indicate that subjects are co-referenced in Dompo while objects are not. Example (c) shows the goal or recipient Kòfí, occurring before the theme ŋɔ̀sré 'money'. As indicated in the schema in example (1) above, this is the conventional order in the language. A deviation, where the theme occurs before the recipient, as can be seen in example (2d) may render the clause ungrammatical. For the theme argument to precede the goal to make the sentence grammatical, a handling or carrying verb must occur as the first verb of the clause while the verb hɛ̌ 'give' occurs as the second verb. This is exemplified in the example below.

3. Ámá   kɛ̀ɛ̀   ŋɔ̀sré   wá   kán   hɛ̌   Kòfí   wɔ̀   bù   wá   rɔ́
    NAME take   money DET   SC   give   NAME be at   room DET   in
    'Ama gave the money to Kofi in the room'

The objects in a double object construction can be pronominalized in Dompo. In example (2c) above, object 1 can be pronominalized while object 2 cannot. The sentence in example (4) below exemplifies this, using pronouns. It can be observed that Kòfí can be replaced with the pronoun mú in example (4a) because it is an animate object. ŋɔ̀sré wá 'the money', on the other hand, cannot be replaced by mù as can be seen in example (4b) because it is an inanimate object. The animacy of these objects is a good reason for concluding the grammaticality and ungrammaticality of the sentences in (4a and b). As has been stated earlier about the handling verb, if hɛ̌ 'give' were the second verb in a serial verb construction and a handling verb kɛ̀ɛ̀ 'take' were to be the first verb, both the recipient and the theme could be pronominalized. In this sense, the theme now becomes the first object while the goal or recipient is the second object. This is illustrated in example (4c). Additionally, the subject nominal Ámá can also be replaced with the 3SG pronominal è as shown in example (4d). Serial verb constructions and their features are treated in detail in (§8.4.1)

4a. Ámá   hɛ̌   mú   ŋɔ̀sré   wá   wɔ̀   bù   wá   rɔ́
     NAME give   3SG   money DET   be at   room DET   in
     'Ama gave him the money in the room'

b. *Ámá   hɛ̌   Kòfí   mù   wɔ̀   bù   wá   rɔ́
    NAME give   NAME 3SG   be at   room DET   in
    'Ama gave it to Kofi in the room'

c. Ámá   kɛ̀ɛ̀   mú   kán   hɛ̌   mú   wɔ̀   bù   wá   rɔ́
    NAME take   3SG   SC   give   3SG   be at   room DET   in
    'Ama gave it to him in the room'

d.　　*è　　kéé　　mú　　kán　　hǎ́　　mú　　wɔ̀　　bù　　wá　　rɔ́*
　　　　3SG　　take　　3SG　　SC　　give　　3SG　　be at　　room　　DET　　in
　　　　'She gave it to him in the room'

In the event where both objects are animate, both objects 1 and 2 can be pronominalized. Thus, in example (5b), the goal or recipient is pronominalised while in example (c), both the goal and the theme are pronominalised. Observe this in the following examples.

5a.　　*chèè　　wá　　ŋnà　　nyìnè　　áná　　kàbìà　　wá*
　　　　woman　　DET　　show　　man　　QUANT　　child　　DET
　　　　'The woman showed the men the child'

b.　　*chèè　　wá　　ŋnà　　bám　　kàbìà　　wá*
　　　　woman　　det　　show　　3PL　　child　　DET
　　　　'The woman showed them the child'

c.　　*chèè　　wá　　ŋnà　　bám　　mù*
　　　　woman　　det　　show　　3PL　　3SG
　　　　'The woman showed them (to) him'

7.3 Grammatical relations

Dompo is a configurational language in the sense that the linear order of arguments indicates the relation of the arguments to the predicate. Transitive and intransitive clauses are the two main clause types in Dompo. In both clause types, there is an obligatory predicate and the subject and object arguments. The subject, which can either be a proper name or a pronoun, forms an argument. The object, which may or may not be required depending on the type of clause also forms another argument. A transitive clause is made up of a subject (S), a predicate and an object (O). There could be other arguments after the first object and in that case the number of arguments increases. Subjects occupy preverbal positions while objects occupy postverbal positions. Both the subject and object positions are filled by either pronouns or nominals. An intransitive clause contains a subject (S) and the predicate. The subject is the only argument in this clause. The schema in example (6) indicates the clause types.

6.　　**CLAUSE TYPE**　　　　**PREDICATE**　　　　**ARGUMENTS**

　　　　Intransitive　　　　Intransitive verb　　　　Subject (S)

　　　　Transitive　　　　Transitive verb　　　　Subject (A), Object (O)

In linguistic analysis, distinction is made between the transitive subject (A), the intransitive subject (S) and the transitive object (O). The subjects (S) and (A) occur preverbally while the object (O) occurs postverbally. Observe the example below.

7a. *Ámá*_A *brì* *Kòfí*_O   b.   *Kòfí*_S *hlé*
    NAME beat NAME   NAME run
    'Ama beat Kofi'   'Kofi ran'

Example (7a) shows a transitive clause which consists of a predicate, *brì* 'beat' and two arguments — the subject Ámá and the object Kòfí. Ámá is the (A) transitive subject because it occurs before the predicate. Kòfí is the (O) transitive object because it occurs after the verb. Example (7b), however, shows an intransitive clause with only one argument which is Kòfí. Kòfí is thus the intransitive subject of the clause and is marked as (S). The argument types (S), (A) and (O) show the relationship that exist between languages that show a strong connection between (S) and (A) arguments. Such languages are classified as nominative/accusative languages. Dompo is a nominative/accusative language in this regard because it shows a stronger relationship between the transitive subject (A) and intransitive subject (S). These two, however, differ from the transitive object (O). Thus, while the (A) and (S) arguments in example (7a) above can both be replaced with the 3SG pronoun *è*, the (O) argument can also be replaced with the pronoun *mù* 'him/her/it'. This can be seen in the example below.

Nominative/ Accusative A/S

8a. *è*_A *brî* *mú*_O   b.   *è*_S *hlé*
    she beat him   he   run
    'She beat him'   'He ran'

On the other hand, if Dompo were to be an absolutive/ergative language, the (S) and (O) arguments would have been replaced by the pronoun *mù* 'him/her/it' while (A) would be replaced with *è*. Thus, because Dompo is not an absolutive/ergative language, the sentence in example (9b) below is ungrammatical.

Absolutive/ Ergative S/O

9a. *è*_A *brî* *mú*_O   b.   **mu*_S *hlé*
    she beat him   him run
    'She beat him'   'He run'

Further evidence that shows Dompo is a nominative/accusative language is that the (A) and (S) nominal arguments of a transitive and intransitive clause can be co-referenced by the plural morpheme that occurs before the verb and which agrees in number and person with the nominals. The (O) argument of a transitive clause, however, does not have a pronoun that is attached to the verb co-referencing it. Pronouns only co-reference subjects, that is, the (S) and (A) arguments and not the (O) argument. Consider the examples below.

10a. *[Kòfí* *nè*   *Ámá]*_A *bì*   *mɔ̀ɔ́*   *[séé*   *wá]*_O
     NAME CONJ NAME 3PL   kill   goat   DET
     'Kofi and Ama killed the goat'

b.   *[Kòfí   nè   Ámá]ₛ bì   lá*
      NAME   CONJ   NAME   3PL   swim
      'Kofi and Ama swam'

In both examples (10a and b), the 3PL subject *bì* co-references the subjects of the transitive and intransitive clauses Kòfí and Ámá. *bì* further agrees in number and person with these arguments. The (O) of the transitive clause *séé wá* 'the goat', however, does not have any pronoun reference.

7.4 Copula Clauses

Apart from transitive and intransitive clauses, copula clauses also form a substantial clause type in the language. Copula clauses, just like transitive clauses, should have a predicate and two core arguments. These two core arguments are the copula subject (CS) and the copula complement (CC). Dixon (2002: 1) notes that the copula complement, henceforth (CC), must show a relation of identity / equation or attribution with the copula subject (CS). He further notes a main difference between the predicate of a transitive or intransitive clause and the predicate of a copula clause. While transitive and intransitive verbs have referential meaning, copula verbs have relational meaning. Dompo has three copula verbs used in copula constructions to mark the relational categories of identity and or equation, attribution and possession between the CS and CC. These copula verbs were briefly introduced in (§4.5). There are also clause constructions with no overt copula form. The copula verbs are illustrated below.

11.   *lè*   'be'   marks identity

       wɔ̀   'be at   expresses attribution/ possession

       yɛ́   'be'   marks possession

 The copula *wɔ̀* has the same form as the Akan copula *wɔ̀* which is one of four copulas in Akan. It is used as a locative copula (Amfo 2010: 37). It has also been described as an existential and possessive marker (Boadi 1971; Stassen 2009). These three roles that *wɔ̀* 'be at' plays in Akan are equivalent to the roles the marker plays in Dompo. *wɔ̀* is further discussed as a general locative verb in Dompo in (§7.6.1.1). Observe these copulas in the sentence structures below.

12a.   *Kòfí   lè   dɔ́ɔ́-pó*   (Identity)
       NAME   be   weed-person
       'Kofi is a farmer'

b.   *nyìnè̀   wá   wɔ̀   ŋgrè̀*   (Attribution)
       boy   DET   be at   tall
       'The boy is tall'

c.   *wùlò   wá   Kòfí   yɛ́   nà /   wùlŏ   wɔ̀   Kòfí   krɔ́*   (Possession)
       book   DET   NAME   COP   FOC   book   be at   NAME   side
       'The book is Kofi's'   'Kofi has a book'

The examples above show the relational meanings conveyed by the copula verbs. Example (12a) marks identity, (b) marks attribution and (c), possession. These markers are identified as such because of the nature of the CC. Example (12a) marks identity because of the noun phrase *dɔɔpó* 'farmer'. *ŋgrɛ̀* 'tall' is an adjective and thus marks the CC as an attribution clause. Possession is marked by the possessive phrase *krɔ́* 'side'. Payne (1997:111) refers to clauses that express identity, attribution, possession and location amongst others as predicate nominals because the semantic content of the clauses is embodied in the CC. He, however, makes specific reference to the semantic content being the noun and distinguishes it from other predicate types such as predicate adjectives and predicate locatives. He considers copulas such as illustrated in examples (9a and b) as specifiers of the relationship between *Kofi* and *dɔɔ pó* and *nyìnɛ̀ wá* and *ŋgrɛ̀*. He thus terms the noun phrase *dɔɔ pó* 'farmer' and adjective *ŋgrɛ̀* 'tall' as the predicate nominal and predicate adjective of their entire clauses because they carry the semantic content of the clauses.

Dryer (2007: 224-225) also re-echoes these ideas in his treatment of non-verbal predicates. He established three types of clauses, namely adjectival predicates, nominal predicates and locative predicates, that all occur with the English copula verb 'be'. He argues that the real predicate of these clauses is constituted by the elements that occur after the copula verb 'be'. The copula verb should not be treated as the predicate. He further treats the copula verb as more of a function word than a predicate. The following sections give a detailed discussion on the copula clauses that relate to identity, attribution and possession.

7.4.1   Identity copula clauses

Identitity copula clauses generally involve a noun occupying the CC position in a construction (Dixon 2002: 5). They have also been described as predicate nominals (Payne 1997: 114) and nominal predicates (Dryer 2007: 229). The illustration below highlights *prɔ́pó* 'potter' as the noun element that occupies the CC slot. Ámá functions as the CS while *lè* 'be' is the copula verb.

13.   *Ámá*   *lè*   *prɔ́-pó*
       NAME   be   mould-person
       'Ama is a potter'

Payne (1997: 114) identifies two kinds of identity copula clauses — equative and proper inclusion. The notion of equation is expressed by an identity copula clause when the entity in the copula subject position is identical to the entity in the copula complement position. Thus, the argument positions are filled by specific entities, either pronouns or nouns that refer to each other. Dryer (2007: 233) explains that the "predicate in an identity copula clause is referential and identifies the individual denoted by the predicate with the individual denoted by the subject". Consider the examples below.

14a.   *Ámá*   *lè*   *Mary*
        NAME   be   NAME
        'Ama is Mary'

b.   *Mary   lè   Ámá*
       NAME be   name
       'Mary is Ama'

In example (14) above, both the CS and CC positions are occupied by proper names that refer to the same person. Thus, in some Ghanaian societies where day born names are prevalent (see § 3.5.1.2 for a discussion on Ghanaian day born names), a person could have in addition to their day born names, a Western name. In this regard, the examples in (14) above could typify a situation where a speaker is letting the listener know that Mary and Ama refer to the same person. Moreover, because the arguments refer to the same entity, their order can be interchanged without any change in the meanings they convey. The equation relation between arguments of copula clauses can also be specified by definite noun phrases, definite determiners and relative clauses. The following are some examples.

15a.   *ŋnà-pò   wá   lè   mí   níí*
       show-person DET be   1SG.POSS   mother
       'The teacher is my mother'

b.   *mí   lè   drú-bɔ́-pó   wá   kó   è   sáŋè   kàbìà wá*
       1SG be   drug-make-person   DET REL 3SG untie child DET
       'I am the doctor who healed the child'

Example (15a) introduces a definite determiner *wá* in the CS while example (b) introduces a relative clause in the CC. The order of the arguments can be interchanged just as was observed with example (14). The change in order will again not affect the meanings of the clauses as demonstrated in example (16) below.

16a.   *mí   níí   lè   ŋnà-pò   wá*
       1SG.POSS   mother be   show-person   DET
       'My mother is the teacher'

b.   *drú-bɔ́-pó   wá   kó   è   sáŋè   kàbìà wá   lè   mí*
       drug-make-person   DET REL 3SG untie child DET be   1SG
       'The doctor who healed the child is me'

Additionally, a specific noun phrase in the form of a proper name can occur as the CS and the definite noun phrase of a CC in a copula construction and vice-versa. The examples below illustrate this.

17a.   *Ámá   lè   ŋnà-pò   wá*
       NAME be   show-person   DET
       'Ama is that teacher'

b.   *ŋnà-pò   wá   lè   Ámá*
       show-person DET be   NAME
       'That teacher is Ama'

The second type of identity copula clauses that Payne (1997) identifies is termed proper inclusion. He states that "proper inclusion is when a specified entity (CS) is asserted to be among the class

of items specified in the nominal predicate (CC)". Furthermore, he asserts that the subject of a copula clause (CS) is more specific while the nominal predicate (CC) is non-specific. The (CC) in Dompo follows the copula verb *lè*. Dryer (2007) classifies this type of identity copula clause as nonreferential nominal predicates or true nominal predicates. He argues that the predicate, which I term as the CC, only denotes a generic term whose positions cannot be easily interchanged with the CS. Observe the examples below.

18a. *Kòfí* *lè* *dɔ́ɔ́-pó*
    NAME be weed-person
    'Kofi is a farmer'

b. *chèè* *wá* *lè* *prɔ́-pó*
    woman det be mould-person
    'The woman is a potter'

In examples (18a and b), the specific copula subjects, Kòfí and *chèè wá* 'the woman' are part of the group of generic and unspecified items, *dɔ́ɔ́-pó* 'farmer and *prɔ́-pó* potter' in the CC position.

7.4.2 *Attributive copula clauses*

Attributive copula clauses are also referred to as predicate adjectives (Payne 1997) and adjectival predicates (Dryer 2007). In attributive copula clauses, a descriptive adjective occupies the CC argument position. The types of adjectives that can be represented in the CC argument slot in Dompo include age, dimension, colour, value, physical propensity, shape, similarity, speed and quantification. See (§3.12) for a further discussion on adjective classes in Dompo. As noted earlier, *wɔ̀* 'be at' marks attribution in Dompo. Dryer (2007) notes that the words used to express meanings related to adjectives in English are simply verbs in many languages. He considers adjectival predicates in such languages as a type of intransitive verbal predicate and not a kind of non-verbal predicate. Observe the following examples.

19a. *kàbìà* *wá* *wɔ̀* *kàchèé* AGE
    child DET be at small
    'The child is young'

b. *chèè* *wá* *wɔ̀* *sĩ̀* DIMENSION
    woman DET be at short
    'The woman is short'

c. *bwì* *wá* *wɔ̀* *lè* PHYSICAL PROPENSITY
    stone DET be at hard
    'The stone is hard'

d. *kàchà* *dìà* *wɔ̀* *ŋkrò* SIMILARITY
    cloth DEM be at different
    'This food is different'

e. *hlé-pò* *wá* *wɔ̀* *mlá* SPEED
    ran-person DET be at quick/fast
    'The runner is fast'

The examples in (19a-e) above show the locative copula occurring between the copula subject and the descriptive adjectives, which are attributes of the CS.

In Dompo, there are some adjectives in CC positions that are not marked by the attributive marker *wɔ*. These adjectives thus function as the verbs of the clause. Examples (f, g and h) below are without the locative verb *wɔ*. The presence of this verb renders the clause ungrammatical. This may be because these categories of adjectives might not be complements of *wɔ*. The colour, value and shape adjectives *pépré*, *chùàlé* and *gbɔ́ɔ́* in these cases function syntactically as the as verbs of the clauses and function like verbs in the language. *chɔ*, in examples (h and i), denotes quantity. This quantifier seems to be cognate with the verb *chɔ* 'pass'. Thus, in these examples it is logical to describe the size of the woman by using the concept of pass, as it seems being fat goes over or passes the normal body size. Similarly, plenty describes something that is in abundance and thus surpasses the required amount. In example (i), therefore, *chɔ* could be acting as the predicate in view of its similarity with the verb *chɔ*. Observe examples (f – i) below.

f. *wùrà-sɔ*   *wá*   *pépré* *nà*   COLOUR
    wear-thing   DET   red   FOC
    'The dress is red'

g. *chèè* *wá*   *chùàlé*   VALUE
    woman DET   good
    'The woman is good'

h. *chèè*   *wá*   *chɔ*   *gbɔ́ɔ́*   SHAPE
    woman   DET   QUANT big
    'The woman is fat'

i. *ji-sɔ*   *wa*   *chɔ*   QUANTIFICATION
    eat-thing   DET   QUANT
    'The food is plenty'

The arguments of attributive copula clauses cannot be interchanged, unlike those of identity copula clauses. This is because in Dompo, adjectives cannot operate as subjects of clauses

7.4.3 *Possessive copula clauses*

Possessive copula clauses reveal the possession relationship between the copula subject and copula complement. These clauses have also been expressed as predicate possessive or possession constructions (Stassen 2009; Dryer 2007). As noted in (§7.4), Dompo employs two verbs in expressing possession — the locative verb *wɔ* 'be at' and the copula *yé* 'be'. These two copula verbs are formally the same as two of four copulas in Akan — *n(y)è, yè, wɔ, dè* (Ellis & Boadi 1969; Amfo 2010). In Akan, *n(y)è* and *dè* are both equative copulas. *yè* is an ascriptive copula while *wɔ* is a locative copula (Amfo 2010: 37). The locative copula has been attested to be involved in possessive constructions in many languages. Examples of some Kwa languages this

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occurs in include (Akan, Ellis & Boadi 1969; Tafi, Bobuafor 2013; Ewe, Ameka 1991, Heine 1997; Tongugbe (a dialect of Ewe), Kpoglu 2019). Lyons (1967: 390) also asserts that "in many or perhaps all languages, existential and possessive constructions derive (both synchronically and diachronically) from locatives". Locational possessive has been described by Stassen (2009: 49) as a "construction that contains a locative or existential predicate in the form of a verb with the rough meaning of 'to be'". The locative verb *wɔ* is used in possessive clauses to link the arguments in CS and in CC. Consider the following examples.

20a.   *é*   *wɔ*   *n-tèntè*
        1SG   be at   PL-dog
        'I have dogs'

b.   *Kòfí* *wɔ*   *ŋɔsré*
        3SG   be at   money
        'Kofi has money'

c.   *chèè* *wá*   *wɔ*   *m-bìà*   *sà*
        woman DET be at   PL-child   three
        'The woman has three children'

In the above examples, the CS arguments *é, Kòfí* and *chèè wá* are the possessor NPs while the CC arguments *ntèntè, ŋɔsré* and *mbìà sà* are the possessee NPs. In spatial relation terms, an interpretation of ownership is derived from the above sentences when the possessor, who is the theme (figure), acquires the possessee who is the location (ground). A reverse of the sentences above leads to the constructions in example (21) below.

21a.   *n-tèntè* *wɔ*   *mí*   *krɔ*
        PL-dog be at   1SG   side
        'Lit. Dogs are at my side / I have dogs'

b.   *ŋɔsré* *wɔ*   *Kòfi*   *krɔ*
        money be at   NAME side
        'Lit. Money is at Kofi's side / Kofi has money'

c.   *m-bìà*   *sà*   *wɔ*   *chèè* *wá*   krɔ
        PL-child   three   be at   woman DET side
        'Lit. Three children are at the woman's side/ The woman has three children'

We see a reversal of the relationship between the CS and CC in the examples above. Here, the CC or the possessed item occurs first as subject of the clause. Because the complement of the *wɔ* verb must be a locative, the possessor is expressed in a postpositional phrase. This postpositional phrase carries with it the additional meaning of comitative possession. In this sense, the meaning that can be deduced from the structures above is of the possessed items being very close to the possessor or being with the possessor. Both arguments are thus co-located. Because of this very close relationship, the possessor claims ownership of the possessed item. This kind of possession can be described as alienable since the objects *ntèntè* 'dogs', *ŋɔsré* 'money' and *mbìà* 'children'

are not permanent acquisitions of the possessor. The structure of the possessive clause construction with *wɔ́* as a copula is thus illustrated as follows,

22.   Possessor NP (PR)   *wɔ́*_{LOC}   Possessee NP (PE)

        Possessee NP (PE)   *wɔ́*_{LOC}   Possessor NP (PR)   krɔ́

The other copula used in possessive constructions is *yè*. *yè* has the same form as the Akan ascriptive copula *yè*. Ellis & Boadi (1969: 15) describe three syntactic frames *yè* occurs in, in Akan. The copula occurs between noun phrases, between a noun phrase and an adjective and between a noun phrase and a numeral. In Dompo, *yè* is used to mark possession. It occurs after the possessor and before a focus marker. Observe the following examples.

23a.   *wùrà-sɔ̀*   *wá*   *mí*   *yɛ́*   *nà*
        wear-thing   DET   1SG   COP   FOC
        'The dress is mine'

b.   *jí-sɔ́*   *díá*   *Ámá*   *yɛ́*   *nà*
        eat-thing   DEM   NAME   COP   FOC
        'This food is Ama's'

The structure of the possessive construction with *yè* as a copula is

24.   Possessee NP (PE)   Possessor NP (PR)   *yɛ́*   FOC

The Possessee NP (PE) occurs first as the subject of the clause, followed by the Possessor NP (PR) which can either be a proper name or a pronoun. This is followed by the copula and then the focus marker occupies the final slot. Thus, the nouns phrases *wùràsɔ̀ wá* 'the dress' and *jísɔ́ díá* 'this food' are the possessum of the possessor nouns *mí* '1SG' and Ámá.

7.4.4   Verbless Clause

In Dompo, a verbless clause is used to present the topic of the clause without the use of a copula verb. The verbless clause is made up of a sequence of a nominal or a pronominal subject, a focus marker and a determiner. The focus marker *ná* is an obligatory element in the clause. There is, however, not a form that is the copula in these constructions. The determiner *wá* could be described as a a dummy subject whose antecedent is the subject of the clauses. Consider the following examples.

25a.   *Ámá*   *ná*   *wá*
        NAME   FOC   DET
        'This is Ama'

b.   *mù*   *ná*   *wá*
        3SG   FOC   DET
        'That is him/her/it'

In the examples above, *Ámá* and *mù* serve as the subjects of the clauses. This is followed by the focus marker *ná.* The role of the focus marker *ná* in these examples is that it introduces the argument of the clause. Inanimate objects and a noun phrase may also occur as the subject of a verbless clause. Observe the examples below.

26a.   *làn⁴⁴*   *wá*   *ná*   *wá*
         house   DET   FOC   DET
         'This /that is the house'

b.   *chèè*   *wá*   *ná*   *wá*
        woman   DET   FOC   DET
        'This/that is the woman'

Verbless clauses can also be negated in Dompo. The negation marker *màà* occurs clause initially, followed by the subject and then either the focus marker or the demonstrative *dé,*[45] Note that even when verbless clauses are negative, there is still no verb present in the construction. Observe the negated forms of the sentences above.

27a.   *màà*   *Ámá*   *nà*
        NEG   NAME   FOC
        'This/that is not Ama'

b.   *màà*   *mú*   *nà*
        NEG   3SG   FOC
        'This/that is not him/her/it'

28a.   *màá*   *làn*   *wá (á)*   *dé*
        NEG   house   DET   DEM
        'This/that is not the house'

b.   *màá*   *chèè*   *wá (á)*   *dé*
        NEG   woman   DET   DEM
        'This/that is not the woman'

In the examples above, notice that *wá*, which functions as the dummy subject in examples (25 and 26), is omitted in the negated forms in examples (27a and b). Similarly, in examples (28a and b), *ná* is omitted and replaced with the demonstrative marker *dé*. The sentence would be ungrammatical if *nà* were to be used in place of *dé.* It can also be observed that the focus marker *nà* is said on a low tone when it ends a clause (see §6.4.5 for further discussion on this focus marker). When it occurs anywhere but the end of the clause, it may be said on a high tone as can be observed in examples (25 and 26). There is also lengthening of the determiner before the demonstrative, as can be seen in examples (28a and b).

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[44] The full form of the word for house is *lànↄ*. The speakers, however, use *làn* sometimes.
[45] *dé* is a short alternative form of the proximal demonstrative *dédìá*.

7.5 Existential, Locative and Possessive constructions

"Existential constructions predicate the existence of some entity, usually in some specified location. Locational constructions predicate location while possessive clauses predicate possession" (Payne 1997: 112). Payne further explains that these construction types are similar in the sense that they "all lack a semantically rich or content lexical verb". Many scholars have attested to the fact that most languages have the same form for expressing predication in these languages. Dompo is not an exception to these languages. Existentials, locatives and possessive constructions are all predicated by *wɔ̀* 'be located' in Dompo. The following are illustrative examples.

Existential

29. *n-tèntè   áná   wɔ̀   Dòmpò lànɔ̀*
     PL-dog QUANT be LOC Dompo home
     'There are dogs in Dompofie'

Locational

30. *n-tèntè   áná   bì   wɔ̀   Dòmpò lànɔ̀*
     PL-dog QUANT 3PL   be LOC Dompo home
     'The dogs are in Dompofie'

Possessive

31. *n-tèntè   áná   gbὲέ   wɔ̀   bán   krɔ́*   / *n-tèntè áná   bì   wɔ̀   gbὲέ*
     PL-dog QUANT strength   be LOC 3PL   side   PL-dog QUANT 3PL   be LOC strength
     'Dogs have strength'   'Dogs are strong'

As can be seen from the constructions above, there is similarity in relation to the use of the predicate *wɔ̀*. The copula occurs before the complements of the clauses. As explained earlier in (§7.4.3), *krɔ́* 'side' indicates that the possessum is part of or with the possessor. In that sense, it may be said that in example (29), the possessor, Dompofie has, as part of other things, the possessed object, dogs. Put differently, it could also be said that dogs are part of Dompofie. Additionally, it can be noted that all three construction types have, as the complements of the clauses, a locative element which indicates location. The locatives are *Dòmpò lànɔ̀* 'home of the Dompo's, *and krɔ́* 'side'.

All three construction types are also negated in the same way, without the verb *wɔ̀* occurring in any of the constructions. The negation marker *màà* occurs before the complements of the clause and occupies the position of the predicate *wɔ̀* in the affirmative sentences in examples (29, 30 and 31).

Existential

32. *n-tèntè màá   Dòmpò lànɔ̀*
     PL-dog NEG   Dompo home
     'There are no dogs in Dompofie'

Locational

33. *n-tèntè áná   bì   màá   Dòmpò lànɔ̀*
     PL-dog QUANT 3PL   NEG   Dompo home
     'The dogs are not in Dompofie'

Possessive

34. *n-tèntè áná   gbèɛ́   màà   bán   krɔ́*
     PL-dog QUANT strength   NEG   3PL   side
     'Dogs do not have strength / Dogs are not strong'

Despite the similarity between the clause types, there are some differences as well. A notable difference to observe is the fact that while the subject of an existential clause is indefinite, that of a locational clause is more specific and refers to the subject whose location is being expressed in the clause. Thus, the use of the 3PL subject marker in example (29) co-references the subject *ntèntè áná* 'the dogs' and makes the subject more specific. Existentials and locatives slightly differ from possessives in relation to their complements. While existentials and locatives require a locative as the complement of the clause, possessive constructions may or may not take a locative. Thus, as indicated in the alternate construction in example (31), *gbèɛ́* 'strength', instead of a locative, is the complement of the clause.

7.6 Basic locative constructions

Different mechanisms are used by various languages to express the location of figures in relation to their spatial orientation. Languages may do this by using verbs that denote location, position or posture. The manuals used to elicit how speakers of Dompo encode static topological relations between figure and ground are the Topological Relations Picture Series (TRPS) (Bowerman & Pederson 1992) and the Gur Positional Verbs Elicitation Stimuli developed by Atintono (2010), himself a native Gur speaker. The figures in the TRPS are made up of 71 stimuli. The figure[47] of interest is highlighted in yellow for easy identification. The pictures can be viewed via the link in footnote (39). The Gur positional verbs stimuli consist of 48 stimuli. The figure whose location is to be described in relation to the ground, has a red arrow pointing to it.

The methodology followed was to ask a 'where is X question' (Levinson & Wilkins 2006: 16) in Dompo, with the X referring to the figure either highlighted in yellow (Bowerman & Pederson 1993) or the one the arrow is pointing to (Atintono 2010). A basic locative construction,

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[47] http://fieldmanuals.mpi.nl/volumes/1992/topological-relations-picture-series/

henceforth (BLC), was used to ask the question as is illustrated in example (35a) below. The answer to the question must include a noun phrase, which is the subject of the phrase as well as the figure, a locative verb and a postpositional phrase representing the ground. The postpositional phrase further consists of a noun phrase which indicates the reference object and a postposition which indicates the search domain. This is shown in example (35b). The entity that is located is the figure. The place where the entity is located is the ground (Talmy 2000). Note that the NP representing the figure could be replaced with the pronoun *è* '3SG'.

35a. *nɛ́nɛ́*   *yìsòòrè*   *wá*   *wɔ̀*
      where   fruit   DET   be at
      where   figure   locative verb
      'Where is the fruit?'

b.   *[yìsòòrè*   *wá]*   *wɔ̀*   *[lèpɛ́*   *rɔ́]*
      fruit   DET   be at   bowl   in
                                            Ref.Obj   Search Domain
      Figure   LOC.verb   Ground
      'The fruit is in the bowl'   (TRPS 2).

Considering the varying mechanisms employed by languages in describing the relationship between the figure and the ground, Levinson & Wilkins (2006) identify three classes of languages that exist based on studies done in 11 languages. The first class are termed general verb languages. These languages use a single copula or existential predicate in their basic locative constructions (BLC), e.g. English and Yucatec Maya. The second class are called postural verb languages and they use a small set of three or four positional verbs in the BLC, e.g. Dutch and Arrernte. The last class, multi-verb languages, employ rich sets of around ten or more 'dispositional' verbs in BLC. These verbs describe the properties of the figure such as support or suspension, orientation and configuration of parts of the figure with respect to each other, e.g. Likpe and Tzeltal.

These classifications are also like Ameka and Levinson's (2007: 852) description of four language types and their classification of locative predicates. The first type of languages does not use any verbal form in BLC, e.g. Saliba, while Type two languages use a single locative verb in BLC. The single locative verb could either be a copula (dummy verb), e.g. English, German, Tamil, a locative/existential predicate, e.g. Yucatec, Ewe (Ameka & Essegbey 2006) or a locative verb determined by grammatical categories, e.g. Japanese, Chinese (Turkish). Type three languages use a large and unlimited set of positional verbs, e.g. Likpe, Tzeltal, Zapotec. Lastly, Type four languages use small, contrastive set of posture or positional verbs, e.g. Guugu Yimithirr, Rossel, Dutch, Arrernte, Yélî Dnye (Levinson 2006) and Goemai (Hellwig 2003).

From the analysis of data gathered using the two stimuli types, it can be concluded that Dompo belongs to the same category as other languages of Ghana, such as (Likpe, Ameka 2007; Logba, Dorvlo 2008; Tafi, Bobuafor 2013; and Nkami, Asante 2016) that employ a large and unlimited

set of posture or positional verbs. In addition to the unmarked locative construction predicate *wɔ̀* 'be at', Dompo also employs about 13 dispositional verbs, classified under postural, positional and adhesive verbs.

The discussion on locatives in (§7.5) and Basic locative constructions employ the same locative verb *wɔ̀* which is used in the same locative context. The basic order of constituents in a Basic Locative Construction in Dompo is illustrated in the syntactic schema in example (36a) below. The schemas (b-d) are alternate constructions that can be used in BLCs.

	FIGURE		GROUND REF. OBJ	SEARCH DOMAIN
36a.	NP	V_[LOC]	[NP	Postp]_{PostpP}
b.	NP	V_[LOC]	[[Possessive pro] NP [body part]	Postp]_{PostpP}
c.	NP	V_[LOC]	[NP	body part]_{PostpP}
d.	NP	V_[LOC]	[NP [dem]]	

The subject NP position is occupied by the FIGURE. This is followed by the verb and then the NP indicating the GROUND and lastly the postposition, which represents the search domain. The constituents, figure, verb and the ground are compulsory elements in a BLC in Dompo. The search domain can, however, be omitted in certain circumstances where the reference object or ground is inherently locative. This is illustrated in example (37) where *kàwòlé* 'floor/ground' is representative of the search domain where the child is located, hence the omission of the post position *wó* 'LOC.on'. It seems *kàwòlé* 'floor/ground' is the only locative in the language that is inherent. The search domain may still be present even when the reference object has been stated. Observe this in the following example.

37. *kàbìà   wá   chìnà   kàwòlé   (wó)*
     child   DET   sit   floor/ground   on
     'The child is sitting on the floor/ground' (GPV 006)

In some BLCs the reference object could be a part of the body where the figure is located. This is illustrated in the schema in example (36b) above. It can be noted that the possessor of the body part where the figure is located is expressed by using the 3SG object pronoun *mù*. Thus, in Dompo, body parts which are inalienable must be possessed in locative constructions. The possessive phrase *mù yáá* 'his leg', *mù sèpè* 'his ear' and *mù hàlémbì* 'his finger' are body part regions representing the reference objects where the figures *nàdàré* 'shoe', *sèpè sɔ́* 'earring' and *kápíĩ̌* 'earring' are located. Observe this in the following examples.

38a. *nàdàré   wɔ̀   mù   yáá   wó*
      Shoe   be at   3SG.POSS   leg   on
      'The shoe is on the leg' (TRPS 21)

b. | *sèpè* | *sɔ́* | *wɔ̀* | *mù* | *sèpè* | *wó* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ear | thing | be at | 3SG.POSS | ear | on |

'The earring is in the ear'   (TRPS 69)

c. | *kápí́* | *wɔ̀* | *mù* | *hàlémbì* | *wó* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ring | be at | 3SG.POSS | finger | on |

'The ring is on the finger'   (TRPS 10)

Another BLC type as illustrated in the schema in example (36c) describes the use of a part of the body as a postposition representing the search domain. These body part nouns undergo grammaticalization to be used as postpositional phrases in Dompo. The examples below illustrate this.

39a. | *bɔ̌n* | *kló* | *wá* | *wɔ̀* | *nsṳ̀* | *wá* | *nyíírɔ̀* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| river | car | DET | be at | water | DET | face |

'The boat is on the river'   (TRPS 11)

b. | *lànɔ̀* | *wá* | *wɔ̀* | *dòmbólí* | *wá* | *kámbrɔ́* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| house | DET | be at | fence | DET | stomach |

'The house is inside the fence' (TRPS 60)

c. | *kàbìà* | *wá* | *è* | *jɔ́ŋà* | *kájá* | *wá* | *kámnɛ́* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| child | DET | 3SG | squat | chair | DET | back |

'The child is squatting behind the chair' (TRPS 64)

d. | *yìsòòrè* | *wá* | *wɔ̀* | *glìhɔ̀* | *wá* | *kánú* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| fruit | DET | be at | metal | DET | mouth |

'The fruit is on the metal's tip'

In the examples above, the body parts *nyíírɔ̀* 'face' *kámbrɔ́* 'stomach', *kámnɛ́* 'back' and *kánú* 'mouth' have been grammaticalized to play the roles of the postpositions on, in and behind.

As exemplified in the schema in example (36d), the NP for the ground in a BLC can be replaced by a demonstrative pronoun that is deictic and indicating distal or proximal space. The example below illustrates this.

40a. | *nyìnè̀* | *wá* | *chìná* | *nfèè* |
|---|---|---|---|
| man | DET | sit | DEM (PROX) |

'The man sits here'

b. | *kàbìà* | *wá* | *dèhé* | *nɔ́* |
|---|---|---|---|
| child | DET | sleep | DEM (DIST) |

'The child sleeps there'

A last BLC type[48] involves the use of more than one verb to describe the position of a figure. There is first the presence of 3PL entities that are conceived of as carrying out the actions. The 3PL marker is used when the people who have placed the figures at the location described are not

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[48] I thank one of my examiners for indicating that examples such as the ones in (41) are not instantiations of BLCs. She notes that languages differ as to how far they extend the BLC to unusual figure/ground relationships. She adds that in many languages, there are situations where speakers do not use the BLC but resort to transitive structures like the ones in example (41).

identifiable. A name would, however, be mentioned if the agent of the act were identified. The first verb usually describes the state of the figure while the second verb describes the action of putting the figure on the ground. In examples (41a and b) below, the first verbs *bɔ́ndà* 'roll' and *krê* 'tie' tell the way the figures *nsǜ flá* 'water hose', and *pɔ́ɔ́* 'stick' are packaged as a unit before being positioned on the ground. It can thus be observed that BLCs that employ multiple verbs involve figures that must be treated as a unit. In example (c), the first verb *kwîì* 'cut' is meant to show that sticks are cut first before they can be tied and hence *kwíí* occupying the V₁ position in the construction.

41a. | *bì* | *bɔ́ndà* | *nsǜ* | *flá* | *wá* | *kán* | *ŋá* | *yì* | *sǐ̀* | *wó* |
| 3PL | roll | water | rope | DET | SC | put | tree | short | on |

'The water hose is on the tree stump' (TRPS 23)
Lit: 'They have rolled the water hose and put it on the tree stump'

b. | *bì* | *krê* | *pɔ́ɔ́* | *kán* | *ŋá* | *káwòlé* |
| 3PL | tie | stick | SC | put | floor/ground |

'The bundle of stalks is on the ground' (GPV 037)
Lit: 'They have tied the sticks and put it on the floor'

c. | *bì* | *kwîì* | *pɔ́ɔ́* | *kán* | *krè* | *mú* | *kán* | *ŋá* | *flá* | *wó* |
| 3PL | cut | stick | SC | tie | 3SG | SC | put | rope | on |

'The stalks are tied on the rope' (GPV 041)
Lit: 'They have cut the sticks, tied them up and put it on the rope'

7.6.1   The semantics and functions of the locative verbs

This section outlines the verbs used in locative constructions in Dompo. The verbs are categorised according to their semantics. Based on categorisations in Likpe, Ameka 2007; Logba, Dorvlo 2008; Tafi, Bobuafor 2013; and Nkami, Asante 2016, Dompo also categorises locative verbs into general, postural, attachment, adhesion, distributional and propinquity verbs. The table below shows the verbs that fall into each category.

Semantic classes	Examples of verbs	Meaning
General Topological Verb	*wɔ̀*	'be at'
Postural	*chìnà*	'sit'
	yìlí	'stand'
	dèhè	'lie / be lying'
	gbàhà	'lean'
	jɔ̀ŋà	'squat/crouch'
	fáá/sáá	'hang'
	dàŋà/ŋà	'put/place'
Adhesion	*màtà*	'be stuck/ attached'
Attachment	*kré*	'be tied'
	bɔ̀ndà	'be rolled /coiled'
Distributional	*bùŋè*	'be spread /open'
Propinquity	*màtà*	'be near/be close'

Table 16. Locative verbs in Dompo

7.6.1.1 The general locative verb *wɔ̀*

wɔ̀ 'be at' is the only verb that falls in this category. It is the unmarked locative verb in Dompo. It is used to localize figures without giving attention to any further details in relation to their disposition. *wɔ̀* can be used in place of all the other dispositional verbs in the language. It can be used to localise scenarios such as 'picture on the wall', 'animal on the wall', 'child behind a chair', 'book on the shelf', 'tree on top of the mountain', 'flag hanging on pole', 'man sitting beside the fire' and 'bicycle leaning on tree'. Below are examples of sentences that *wɔ̀* is used in as the locative verb. In all these examples, there are specific postural verbs that could have been used in place of the *wɔ̀*. These verbs are shown in the brackets.

42a. *kàchà wá wɔ̀ (sáá) mà wó*
cloth DET be at hang wall on
'The cloth is (hanging) on the wall'   (GPV 023)

b. *làmbrɛ̀ wá wɔ̀ (màtà) mà wá wó*
lizard DET be at be stuck wall DET on
'The lizard is (stuck) on the wall'   (GPV 025)

c. *lɔ̀ŋɔ̀ wá wɔ̀ (yílì) mù bù rɔ́*
man DET be at sit 3SG.POSS room in
'The rabbit is (standing) in its cage'   (TRPS 54)

In the examples above, notice that *wɔ̀* is used as a general locative verb to refer to the location of the figures in focus. The details of their posture are, however, captured using the verbs in the bracket. As has been established in (§7.4.3 and §7.5), the locative verb *wɔ̀* is used to play a number of roles. It is used to ask and answer questions in relation to the location of an entity in a BLC. The following are some examples of its usage.

43a. *nɛ́nɛ́ kàbìà wá wɔ̀?*
where child DET be at
'Where is the child?'

b. *kàbìà wá wɔ̀ lànɔ̀ / kàbìà wá chìnà dèhèsɔ́ wó*
child DET be at house   kabia DET sit sleep-thing on
'The child is at home'   'The child is sitting on the mat'

44a. *nɔ́nɔ́ ó wɔ̀ kán chínà?*
where 2SG be at SC sit
'Where do you stay?'

b. *é chìnà Dòmpò lánɔ̀*
1SG sit Dompo home
'I stay in Dompofie'

It must be noted that a response to the question in example (43a) incorporates either the be loc verb or an exact positional verb if the speaker wants to be accurate about the posture of the subject at the time of the response. This is seen in example (43b). The question in example (44a), however, does not incorporate *be loc* in its response in example (44b). As has been discussed of *wùrɔ̀* in (§7.5), it can be added that the copula part *wù*, which is a variant of *wɔ̀*, is always used in conjunction with the postposition *rɔ̀* to read *wù rɔ̀* 'is in'. The '*u*' of the first morpheme is in most cases elided and thus mentioned as one word as in *wrɔ̀*. This phrase is mostly used in response to a question asked about the whereabouts of another person, especially if the former has gone to the home of the latter to look for him/her.

Below is a conversation I had with the wife of Mr. Mila, my oldest male consultant, when I went to his house to see him. Example (45a) illustrates my question about the whereabouts of Mr. Mila, though I suspected that he might be in his room. His wife's response in example (45b) indicated

that he was in his room and she reiterated this by indicating with her head towards the room he was in. A response in the negative, as shown in example (c), leaves out the *wɔ̀*.

45a.   *Máà,*   *Mr.*   *Mílà*   *wù*   *rɔ̀*   *à?*
       Mother   Mr.   Mila   be at   in   Q
       'Mother, is Mr. Mila in (the room)?'

b.   *ɛ̀ɛ́*   *è*   *wù*   *rɔ̀*
       INTJ   3SG   be at   in
       'Yes, he is in/ Yes, he is there'

c.   *dàbí*   *è*   *màà*   *rɔ́*
       INTJ   3SG   NEG   in
       'No, he is not in / No, he is not there'

It must be noted that the phrase *wù rɔ̀* cannot be used together if a noun indicating a question about the exact location of an entity is used. In this case, the locative copula *wɔ̀* is rather used. This is shown in the examples below where example (46a) is ungrammatical and example (46b) is the preferred question.

46a.   **Mr.* *Mílà*   *wù*   *rɔ̀*   *lànɔ̀*   *à?*
       Mr.   Mila   be at   in   house   Q
       'Is Mr. Mila in the house?'

b.   *Mr.*   *Mílà*   *wɔ̀*   *lànɔ̀*   *à?*
       Mr.   Mila   be at   house   Q
       'Is Mr. Mila in the house'

7.6.1.2 Postural Verbs

Dompo has seven postural verbs. They are the verbs *chìnà* 'sit', *yìlí* 'stand', *dèhè* 'lie', *gbàhà* 'lean', *jɔ̀ŋà* 'squat/crouch', *fáá/sáá* 'hang' and *dàŋà/ŋà* 'put/place'. These positional verbs convey information with regard to the figure and its relationship with the ground.

7.6.1.2.1   chìnà 'sit'

chìnà is used as a locative verb to talk about the location of entities, particularly humans and animals, that have support on the surface from their base. One thing that was observed from all the descriptions involving the verb 'sit' was the fact that the entity that was doing the sitting had to have their lower parts or buttocks on the ground. This point is raised because with the verb 'stand', there is also support from the base, but it involves a different part of the body, which functions as the base. The ground that supports the base for the verb 'sit' can either be a tree, mat, floor, chair, wall or bicycle. The following examples illustrate this.

47a.   *chèè* *wá*   *chìnà* *dèhè-sɔ́*   *wá*   *wó*
       woma DET   sit   sleep-thing   DET   on
       'The woman is sitting on the mat'   (GPV 007)

b.   *kàntètè è   chìnà lèpé rɔ́*
      dog   3SG   sit   pan   in
      'The dog is sitting in a pan'   (TRPS 47)

c.   *kàbìà wá   chìnà gbáŋá wá   wó*
      child   DET   sit   bicycle DET   on
      'The child is sitting on the bicycle'   (GPV 002)

The use of *chìnà* can be extended from being used as a postural marker to be used to describe a place of settlement or abode. Thus, in the example below, *chìnà* does not connote the idea of being temporarily located at a place but conveys the meaning of the speaker being a resident of *Dompofie* 'home of the Dompo people'.

48.   *é   chìnà Dòmpò lànɔ̀*
      1SG   sit   Dompo home
      'I stay in Dompofie'

7.6.1.2.2   *yìlí* 'stand'

yìlí 'stand' is used to talk about objects that are upright in position in relation to a horizontal surface. It is used to describe the vertical position of both animate (humans and animals) and inanimate objects. Additionally, it is used to describe objects that are relatively high in comparison with other standard high objects. We can thus talk about objects such as books, cars and motorbikes standing in comparison to trees and buildings. This postural verb thus has a wide use. Let us observe the following examples.

49a.   *kàbìà wá   yìlí   yí   wá   hálé   wó*
      child   DET   stand tree   DET   hand   on
      'The child is standing on the tree branch'   (GPV 004)

b.   *chȁ̀   né   kàbwê bì   yílí   yí   wá   njàà wó*
      guinea fowl CONJ bird   3SG   stand tree   DET   branch on
      'Guinea fowl and bird on the tree'   (GPV 010)

c.   *kló   wá   yìlí   kpà   wá   wó*
      car   DET   stand road DET   on
      'The car is parked on the road' (GPV 014)

d.   *wùlò wá   yìlí   mù   bù   rɔ́*
      book   DET   stand 3SG.POSS   room   in
      'The book is on its shelf'   (TRPS 8)

e.   *yí   wá   yìlí   bù   wá   nyíírɔ́*
      tree   DET   stand house DET   face
      'The tree is in front of the house'   (TRPS 49)

The examples above illustrate how *yìlí* describes the vertical positions of both animate and inanimate objects. This indicates that standing means being erect on two feet for humans and four feet for animals. For objects such as cars and motorcycles, *yìli* describes an upright position where

all tyres are straight and equally balanced. Likewise, for book and tree in example (d and e), the objects assume a vertical position. Though Dompo localizes the positions of most objects using the verb *wɔ̀*, the use of these specific postural verbs indicates that the language is also particular about being specific when describing postures.

7.6.1.2.3 *dèhè 'to lie'*

dèhè 'to lie' is used only to describe the position of animate objects. It involves the whole body lying flat on the ground either horizontally or vertically. The general locative verb *wɔ̀* 'be at' is used to describe the position of other inanimate objects that employ the same disposition. The ground or referring object could either be the surface of a bed, mat, a room or an animal's cage. The following examples illustrate this.

50a. *kàbìà   wá   dèhè   dèhè-sɔ́   wó*
      child   DET   lie   lie-thing   on
      'Child lying on mat'   (GPV 005)

b.   *kàntètè   è   déhè   mù   bù   rɔ́*
      dog   3SG   lie   3SG.POSS   room   in
      'The dog is lying in its cage'   (TRPS 71)

c.   *kɛ̀ɛ̀̃-sɔ̀   wɔ̀   táblò   wá   wó*
      write-thing   be at   table   DET   on
      'The pen is lying on the table'   (TRPS 59)

In examples (50a and b), we notice that *dèhè* is used to describe the positions of the animate objects *kàbìà* 'child' and *kàntètè* 'dog'. In example (c), however, because *kɛ̀ɛ̀̃ sɔ̀* 'pen' is an inanimate object, the general verb *wɔ̀* is used to describe its position even though it has the same disposition of lying on a surface. It must also be mentioned that *dèhè* is also used to mean 'to sleep' in the language. This might be so because sleeping involves the position of lying down with the whole-body flat on a surface.

7.6.1.2.4 *gbàhà 'lean'*

gbàhà 'lean' is used to describe the locative orientation taken by both animate and inanimate objects when they lean against a stable or solid object for support. The solid object could be in the form of a wall or a tree. Some of the objects usually have bases that cannot support them fully and thus must be supported at their upper part by the reference object. While humans and animals have the full ability of support at the base, there are certain situations where support from a reference object is needed. Such situations include when one is either dizzy or drunk. Observe the following examples.

51a. *nyìnè   wá   gbàhà   mà   wó*
      man   DET   lean   wall   on
      'Man leaning on wall'   (GPV 019)

b. | *nyìnè* | *wá* | *gbàhà* | *kàjà* | *gblè* | *wá* | *wó* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| man | DET | lean | chair | recline | DET | on |

'Man in a relaxed position on chair'   (GPV 21)

c. | *gbáŋá* | | *wá* | *gbàhà* | *yí* | *wó* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| bicycle | | DET | lean | tree | on |

'bicycle leaning on tree' (GPV 013)

d. | *dìì-sɔ̀* | | *è* | *gbáhà* | *mà* | *wó* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| climb-thing | | 3SG | lean | wall | on |

'Ladder leaning on wall'   (TRPS 58)

Example (51b) illustrates the man relaxed on a reclining chair. The positional verb in this instance should have been *chìnà* 'sit' but 'lean' is used instead. This indicates that the language conceptualises 'sitting' as being in an upright position while 'leaning' is done by bending backwards, the upper section of the body towards a steady object. Examples (c and d) show the objects, bicycle and ladder having to be leaned against a solid object before they can be fully supported.

7.6.1.2.5   *jɔ̀ŋà* 'squat'

In Dompo, there is a close sense in which the positional verbs *jɔ̀ŋà* 'squat/crouch' and *yìli* 'stand' are understood. These two are used interchangeably to describe the positions of smaller animals where it is difficult to make a distinction between whether they are squatting or standing. The language thus employs both postural verbs to talk about the posture of a housefly which has landed on food as can be seen in example (52a). In humans and some animals such as dogs and cats, *jɔ̀ŋà* 'squat/crouch' describes a position where the knees are bent, and the upper part of the body is slightly moved forward. The forearms are also a bit straighter and, in most cases, touch the reference object. This is illustrated in examples (b, c and d) below. We can also observe that there is a slight difference between the postures *yìlí* 'stand' and *jɔ̀ŋà* 'squat/crouch'. The base of the body is inclined towards the reference object in *jɔ̀ŋà* 'squat/crouch'. The base is almost touching the reference point at an angle where it looks like the objects are sitting down. In *yìlí,* however, one can notice the fact that the base is far off from the reference point. The knees are slightly less bent while the forearms are straighter. This can be seen in example (e).

52a. | *chánséé* | *è* | *jɔ́ŋà / yílí* | *jí-sɔ́* | *wá* | *wó* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| housefly | 3SG | squat / stand | eat-thing | DET | on |

'Housefly (squatting/standing) on meal' (GPV 015)

b. | *kànyrànyìsì* | *è* | *jɔ́ŋà* | *táblò* | *wá* | *kásé* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| cat | 3SG | squat | table | DET | under |

'The cat is squatting/crouching under the table' (TRPS 31)

c. | *kàntètè* | *è* | *jɔ́ŋà* | *mù* | *bù* | *wá* | *ŋkèlɔ́* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| dog | 3SG | squat | 3SG.POSS | room | DET | side |

'The dog is squatting/crouching beside its cage' (TRPS 6)

d. *kàbìà   wá   è   jɔ́ŋà   kájá   wá   kámnɛ́*
   child   DET   3SG squat chair DET   back
   'The child is squatting/crouching behind the chair'   (TRPS 64)

e. *lɔ̀ŋɔ̀   wá   è   yílí   mù   bù   rɔ́*
   rabbit DET   3SG stand 3SG.POSS   room in
   'The rabbit is standing in its cage'

7.6.1.2.6 *sáá/fáá* 'hang'

The postural verbs *sáá or fáá* are used interchangeably to talk about figures that are attached to their reference objects at one part while the other part is suspended. The suspended part could either be stable or could dangle if atmospheric pressure is applied to it. This verb could describe 'a hanging light bulb', 'clothes hanging on a line', 'a pendant hanging on a chain' or 'any object hanging on a wall'. Consider the following examples.

53a. *wùrà-sɔ̀   áná   sàà   flá   wó*
     cloth-thing   QUANT   hang   rope   on
     'Clothes hanging on rope'   (TRPS 37)

b. *nyɔ̀ɔ̀-sɔ̀   wá   bì   sáà   mú   sósó*
   light-thing   DET   3PL   hang   3SG   top/up
   'The bulb is hanging (from the ceiling)'   (TRPS 13)

c. *blò-sɔ̀   è   sáà   flá   wá   kásé*
   throat-thing   3SG   hang   rope   DET   under
   'The pendent is hanging on the rope's bottom'   (TRPS 57)

d. *wùrà-sɔ̀   áná   bì   fáá   mú   mà   wá   wó*
   cloth-thing   QUANT   3PL   hang   3SG   wall   DET   on
   'smocks hanging on shed'   (GPV 032)

e. *bì   fáà   nfà   mà   wó*
   3PL   hang   horn   wall   on
   'Horn on wall'   (GPV 035)

In examples (53a-c) above, we notice that the figures *wùrà-sɔ̀ áná* 'clothes', *nyɔ̀ɔ̀-sɔ̀ wá* 'the light' and *blò sɔ̀* 'pendant' are attached to their reference objects which are *flá* 'rope', the ceiling and *flá* 'chain' respectively. In examples (d and e) also, *mà wá* 'the wall' serves as the reference object for the figures *wùrà sɔ̀* and *nfà* 'horn'. In the examples in (53), notice the existence of a 3PL unidentifiable entity that hangs the figures. The use of this plural subject reiterates the fact that the figure must have been located where it is because it was put there by someone/ some people.

7.6.1.2.7 *dàŋà/ŋà* 'put/place'

The verbs *dàŋà/ŋà* are two forms of one verb. *ŋà* is a form of *dàŋà.* The verb describes the position of a figure without much emphasis on the details of its posture. It describes the general idea of putting or placing a figure on its reference object. The figure may be on its base and be positioned either vertically or horizontally. Some of the figures in this category are ones that are

collective and thus, their positions cannot be accounted for separately. These include 'market items', 'bundles of stick put on rope' and 'bundles of millet on the floor'. Observe the following examples.

54a.   *fèè̀-kpà*   *ásɔ́*   *bì*   *ŋâ*   *mú*   *kàwòlé*
          sell-place   PL-thing   3PL   put   3SG   floor
          'Market items on display'   (GPV 40)

b.   *bì*   *kwîî*   *pɔ́ɔ́*   *kán*   *krè*   *mú*   *kán*   *ŋá*   *flá*   *wá*   *wó*
          3PL   cut   stick   SC   tie   3SG   SC   put   rope   DET   on
          'Stalks on rope' (GPV 41)

c.   *nèɛ́*   *áná*   *bì*   *ŋâ*   *mú*   *káwòlé*
          millet   QUANT 3PL   put   3SG   floor
          'Bundles of millet on the floor'   (GPV 045)

In the examples above, we see the evidence that the figures *fèè̀-kpà ásɔ́* 'market items' *pɔ́ɔ́* 'sticks' and *nèɛ́* 'millet' are treated as a collective unit using *mú* '3SG' pronoun. Again, there is the existence of a 3PL 'they' entity that shows that the figures were put there by anonymous referents. *ŋá* is also used as the last verb in a serial verb construction in example (b). It is also used as the verb that describes the action of placing something at a place.

The following is a discussion on the other categories of postural verbs. They include *màtà* 'be stuck/attached', *kré* 'be tied', *bòndà* 'be rolled/coiled', *bùŋè* 'to spread/open' and *màtà* 'be near/close'

7.6.1.2.8   *Adhesion verb màtà 'be stuck / attached'*

The adhesive verb *màtà* 'be stuck or attached' is used to talk about the positions of figures that are firmly attached to the reference object. We can thus talk about the stamp on an envelope, the telephone attached to the wall and the metal handle on a door. The following examples depict this.

55a.   *wùlò*   *drú*   *è*   *mátà*   *wùlò*   *wó*
          paper   medicine   3SG   attached   paper   on
          'Stamp attached on the paper'   (TRPS 3)

b.   *nànsɛ̀* *è*   *mátà* *mà*   *wó*
          spider   3SG   attach wall   on
          'Spider attached to wall'

c.   *máléé-sɔ́*   *è*   *mátà* *mà*   *wó*
          talk-thing   3SG   attach wall   on
          'Telephone attached on wall'   (TRPS 25)

d.   *glìhɔ̀*   *è*   *mátà* *klò*   *wá*   *wó*
          metal   3SG   attach door   DET   on
          'Metal handle attached to the wall'   (TRPS 61)

The figures, *wùlò drú* 'stamp', *nànsɛ̀* 'spider', *máléé-sɔ́* 'telephone' and *glìhɔ̀* 'metal' attach firmly to their reference objects *wùlò* 'paper', *mà* 'wall' and *klò* 'door'.

7.6.1.2.9   Attachment verb *kré* 'be tied' and *bɔ̀ndà* 'be rolled or coiled'

kré 'be tied' describes the position whereby the figure is firmly tied around the reference object so that the figure does not dislocate. Figures that can be tied include sticks, stalks and animals. *Bɔnda* 'be rolled or coiled' is a similar verb that involves the figure rolled or coiled around the reference object several times. The figure can also be rolled several times before being put on the reference object. Figures that can be rolled or coiled include ropes, and water hose. Observe the following examples.

56a. *bì*   *kré*   *pɔ́ɔ́*   *kán*   *ŋá*   *káwòlé*
      3PL   tie   stick   SC   put   ground
      'Bundles of stalks on ground'   (GPV 037)

b.   *nyìnὲ*   *wá*   *krè*   *séé*   *wá*   *gbáŋá*   *wá*   *kámnέ*
      man   DET   tie   goat   DET   bicycle   det   back
      'Goat carried in a container on a bike carrier'   (GPV 031)

c.   *bì*   *bɔ́ndà*   *nsὕ*   *flá*   *kán*   *ŋá*   *yìsῒ*   *wá*   *ŋkὲlɔ́*
      3PL   coil   water   rope   SC   put   stump   DET   side
      'Water hose rolled and put beside a tree stump'   (TRPS 43)

d.   *nsὕ*   *flá*   *è*   *bɔ́ndà*   *yìsῒ*   *wó*
      water   rope   3SG   coil   stump   on
      'The water hose is around the stump'   (TRPS 55)

In examples (56a and c) above, the figures *pɔ́ɔ́* 'stick' and *nsὕ flá* 'water hose' are firmly tied together as a unit before being put on and beside their reference objects *kàwòlé* 'ground' and *yìsῒ* 'stump'. *séé* 'goat' and *nsὕ flá* 'water hose' are also firmly tied and rolled around their reference objects, *gbáŋá wá kámnὲ* 'back of the bicycle' and *yìsῒ* 'stump'.

7.6.1.2.10 Distributional verb *buŋe* 'open/be spread'

bùŋὲ 'open/spread' describes the posture where a flexible figure is either open or spread on its reference object. Figures that can be opened/spread include mats, doors, bottles and books. These are exemplified below.

57a. *bì*   *búŋè*   *dèhὲ-sɔ́*   *wɔ̀*   *kàwòlé*   *wó*
      3PL   spread   sleep-thing   be at   floor   on
      'Mat spread on floor'   (GPV 008)

b.   *klɔ́*   *wá*   *bùŋè*
      door   DET   open
      'The door is open'

c.   *bì*   *búŋè*   *tró*   *wá*   *kánú*
      3PL   open   bottle   DET   mouth
      'The tip of the bottle is open'

d. | *bì* | *búŋè* | *wùlò* | *wá* | *kán* | *dàŋà* | *mú* | *táblò* | *wá* | *wó* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3PL | open | book | DET | SC | put | 3SG | table | DET | on |

'The open book is on the table'

In examples (57a and d), the figures *dèhèsɔ́* 'mat' and *ẁulò* 'book' are spread and open and can be located on their reference objects *káwòlé* 'floor' and *táblò* 'table'. *bùŋè* could be used as the first verb in an SVC as can be seen in example (d).

7.6.1.2.11 Propinquity verb *màtà* 'be near/be close'

màtà 'be near/be close' is used to describe the physical relationship in space between the figure and its reference object. Unlike the adhesive verb *màtà* 'be stuck/attached' described in (§7.6.1.2.8), the propinquity verb *màtà* shows a spatial relationship in which the figure and reference object are in close proximity. Consider the following examples.

58a. | *kàbìà* | *wá* | *màtà* | *dὲὲ* | *wá* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| child | DET | be.near | fire | DET |

'The child is near the fire' (TRPS 38)

b. | *Kòfí* | *è* | *mátà* | *mí* | *wó* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| name | 3SG | be.near | 3SG | on |

'Kofi is near me'

c. | *nsɔ̀ɔ̀*[49] | | *lánɔ̀* | *è* | *mátà* | *sèn* | *bíbrì* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| muslim | | home | 3SG | be.near | matter | black |

'Saase is near Kabrono'[50]

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[49] The Dompos have specific names for each neighboring village. *Nsɔ̀ɔ̀ lánɔ̀*, their name for the village *Sààsè*, which is to their North, means the home of the muslims.
[50] *Kàbrònò*, also a village to the North of Dompofie is referred to as *sèn bíbrì* 'dark matter' because the Dompos believe unusual things used to happen there.

Chapter 8: CLAUSE COMBINATIONS: SUBORDINATION, COORDINATION AND SERIAL VERB STRUCTURES

8.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses clause types that create complex structures. These clause types, which fall within the verbal clause types discussed in (Chapter 7:) above, are both dependent or subordinate and main clauses. This chapter largely deals with dependent clauses. Dependent clauses are joined to the main clauses through the process of subordination and coordination. These are discussed in (§8.2and §8.3). The three types of subordinate clauses, relative, complement and adverbial clauses are further discussed in (§8.2.1, §8.2.2 and §8.2.3). Subsections under these sections include, subject relativization (§8.2.1.1.1), object relativization (§8.2.1.1.2), relativization of instrumental NPs (§8.2.1.1.3), relativization of locative postpositional phrase (§8.2.1.1.4) and relativization of possessors (§8.2.1.1.5). Tense and aspect in relative clauses follow in (§8.2.1.2) and other functions of the relativizer are discussed in (§8.2.1.3). Complement clauses are treated in (§8.2.2) while adverbial clauses are discussed in (§8.2.3). Subsections under this include, conditional clauses (§8.2.3.1), temporal clauses (§8.2.3.2), before clauses (§8.2.3.3), reason clauses (§8.2.3.4), result clauses (§8.2.3.5), simultaneous clauses (§8.2.3.6), manner clauses (§8.2.3.7), and concessive clauses (§8.2.3.8). Coordination is discussed in (§8.3) while serial verb constructions are treated in (§8.4). Some subsections under this are, characteristics of serial verbs (§8.4.1), functions of serial verbs (§8.4.2) and SVCs with interrogatives and focus (§8.5).

8.2 Subordination

Subordinate clauses attach to a main clause to modify or elaborate on the meaning of the main clause. Relative clauses (§8.2.1) are introduced by the marker *kó* while complement clauses (§8.2.2) are introduced by *fnέ*. Adverbial clauses in Dompo (§8.2.3) have several markers that introduce them. The marker *nέ* is used as a temporal marker and to also introduce conditional clauses, before clauses, and concessive clauses. The relativizer *kó* is also used to introduce temporal clauses, before clauses and reason clauses. *nέ* is the most frequently used coordinator in Dompo.

8.2.1 Relative Clauses

Givon (2001: 175) defines relative clauses, henceforth (RC) as "clause-size modifiers embedded in the noun phrase". He further asserts that they function together with other noun modifiers to act as co-referential agents. Comrie (1981: 138) postulates a distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses in English. Dompo, however, does not make a distinction between

them. Restrictive relative clauses are restrictive and provide essential information that defines the referent of the relative clause. Givon (1993: 107) opines that restrictive relative clauses are "more prototypical and the most common in text and languages". Non-restrictive relative clauses carry additional specifying descriptions of noun referents in the relative clause. These specifying details include the use of a proper name or common noun that refers to specific people, places or events.

The Dompo sentences that are used in this section on relative clause constructions (RCC) represent examples of what has been termed both restrictive and non-restrictive relative. There is no formal difference in Dompo. The relative clause in Dompo is introduced by the relativizer *kó*. Relative clauses occur post-nominally. They occur immediately after the head nouns they modify. Thus, the head noun and the relative clause form a complex noun phrase structure. Observe the following elicited examples.

1a. | *chèè* | *[kó* | *è* | *kúrè* | *wá]* | *è* | *bá* | *nfèè* | *kábrè* |
    | woman | REL | 3SG | bear | DET | 3SG | come | here | today |
    'The woman who gave birth came here today'

b. | *nyìnè* | *[kó* | *è* | *yɔ́* | *ndɔ̀ɔ̀-rɔ́* | *wá]* | *è* | *chínà* | *nfèè* |
   | man | REL | 3SG | go | farm-SFX | DET | 3SG | sit | here |
   'The man that went to the farm lives here'

c. | *Kòfí* | *brì* | *kàbìà* | *wá* | *[kó* | *è* | *mìn* | *búré* | *shíá* | *(wa)]* |
   | Kofi | beat | child | DET | REL | 3SG | NEG | break | person | DET |
   'Kofi beat the child who is disrespectful'

d. | *é* | *hã́* | *kàbìà* | *[kó* | *è* | *bá* | *nfèè* | *wá]* | *kɛ̀ɛ̃̀-sɔ̀* |
   | 1SG | give | child | REL | 3SG | come | here | DET | write-thing |
   'I gave the child who came here a pen'

In example (1a and b), the NPs *chèè* 'woman' and *nyìnè* 'man' together with the relative clause form the subject of the sentence. In examples (c and d), the NPs, *kàbìà wá* 'the child' and *kàbìà* 'child' who serve as the objects of the verbs *brì* 'beat' and *hã́* 'give', form the object of the sentence. The relativizer, *kó*, begins the relative clauses in examples (a and b) and occurs after the head nouns *chèè* 'woman' and *nyìnè* 'man'. The same can be said for examples (c and d) where the head nouns *kàbìà wá* 'the child' and *kàbìà* 'boy' precede the relativiser. The head noun of a relative clause can occur with or without a determiner. Thus in (1a, b and c) the head nouns are not modified by any determiners. In example (1c), however, the noun *kàbìà* is modified by the determiner *wá*. If there were an adjective and a numeral in the sentence, they would occur between the noun *kàbìà* and the determiner *wá*.

Inside the relative clauses is the person index *è* '3SG' which co-references the head nouns and further agrees with it in number. The absence of the person index in the relative clause to co-refer to the head noun will result in an ungrammatical sentence. In examples (1a and b), the person index can, however, be dropped in the main clauses. The sentence will still be grammatical whether it is present or not. Dompo is one of the languages that makes extensive use of the person

index or resumptive pronoun to manifest the relativized NP in the RC. Other Kwa languages that employ this strategy include (Akan, Saah 2010; Logba, Dorvlo 2008; Nkami, Asante 2016).

At the end of the relative clause, the same form of the determiner *wá* occurs. This indicates that the relative clause may terminate with this determiner in Dompo. This can be observed in examples (Ia, b and d). In simple declaratives, the determiner occurs immediately after the noun in sentence constructions. This is, however, different with relative clauses. The same phenomenon occurs in Akan where the definite determiner *nó*, which has been glossed as 3SG in the example below, terminates relative clauses (Saah 2010: 94). Observe the following Akan example.

2.   *[NP [NP abofrá] [CP   áà   [IP   Kofi   huu   no]]   nó]]   á-!bá*
          child   REL   K.   see-PST 3SG   CD   PERF-come
       'The child whom Kofi saw, has come'

Saah (2010) further notes that the determiner modifies the NPs "which have been extracted to the head position of the relative clause, leaving their determiners stranded". Thus, in the Dompo clauses in example (1) above, the determiner *wá* at the end of the relative clauses modifies the head nouns. In example (1c), there is an optional *wá* at the end of the relative clause because the noun *kàbìà* 'child' has its modifier that attaches to it outside the relative clause.

To summarise the information above, relative clauses in Dompo have the following features:

    a.   A head noun/pronoun which is outside the relative clause.

    b.   An obligatory relative clause marker *kó.*

    c.   A person index in the relativized subject position that coreferences the head of the relative clause when the head is either the subject or object of the clause.

    d.   A clause final determiner *wá* which may be optional when the determiner is attached to the noun outside the relative clause.

The sections that follow will discuss the internal structure of relative clauses. The positions of the noun phrase that enable relativization are also discussed.

8.2.1.1 Hierarchy of NPs in relative clauses

The issue of which possible position the noun phrase in the embedded clause can be in to enable relativization has been tackled by scholars such as Keenan & Comrie (1977); Comrie (1981). They propounded the NP Accessibility Hierarchy (NPAH) in order to reveal the possible argument positions available for NP relativization. Keenan and Comrie (1977: 66) argue that "languages differ with regards to which NP position can be relativized". They further add that the variation is not random. This judgement is based on research done in about fifty languages. There were about five African languages, Fulani, Hausa, Luganda, Shona and Youruba.

A simplified version of the NPAH analysed in Comrie (1981) and which is depictive of the possible relativization positions in Dompo will be examined in the subsequent sections. Below is the schema presented in Comrie (1981: 149).

NP Accessibility Hierarchy

Subject > Direct Object > Non-Direct Object > Possessor

Where ">" means "is more accessible than"

This hierarchy indicates that if a language can relativize in a specific position in the hierarchy, then it can relativize in any positions towards the highest relativizable position. The subject position is the easiest to relativize in most languages. Thus, if a language can relativize possessors, then all positions to the left can be relativized. That is, non-direct objects, direct objects and then subjects can be relativized. Below is discussion of all these relativizable positions in Dompo.

8.2.1.1.1 Subject Relativization

Subject relativization involves a head noun, outside the RC, which has an antecedent pronoun in the RC that co-references it. The head noun in this case is subject of both the main and relative clauses. Observe the following examples.

3a. *chèè [kó è pó Kòfí wá] è líré Dòmpò-fíé*
woman REL 3SG marry NAME DET 3SG exit Dompo-home
'The woman who married Kofi is from Dompofie'

b. *m-bìà [kó bì fúàhè wá] bì yɔ́ ndɔ̀ɔ̀-rɔ́*
PL-child REL 3PL lose DET 3PL go farm-SFX
'The children who were missing went to the farm'

From the examples above, the 3SG and 3PL pronouns *è* and *bì* co-reference the head nouns *chèè* 'woman' and *mbìà* 'children' which are the subjects of both the main and relative clauses. Notice also that the pronouns agree in number and person with the subjects they co-reference.

The subject of a relative and main clause can be modified by nominal modifiers. The example below illustrates this.

4. *chèè pépré kàchèé nùm áná [kó bì wɔ̀ bù rɔ́ wá]*
woman red small five QUANT REL 3PL be at room in DET
NOUN ADJ ADJ NUM QNT REL PRO LOC NOUN POST DET

HEAD **MODIFIERS** **RELATIVE CLAUSE**

bì déhè
3PL sleep
PRO VERB
'The five small-sized fair-skinned women who are in the room are sleeping'

The subject slot of a main clause can be made up of the head noun and its modifiers. This is followed by the relative clause. In sentence (4) above, the relative clause contains the reference to the head noun, the 3PL person index *bì* which coreferences the head of the main clause. There is number and person agreement between both the main noun and the person index. The determiner *wá* ends the RC.

8.2.1.1.2   Object Relativization

Object relativization entails the object of the RC being coreferential with the head of the main clause. The object pronoun in the RC is not expressed. There is a gap in the slot where the object should be. This gap is represented by the symbol Ø in the following examples.

5a. *jí-sɔ́*   *wá*   *[kó*   *nyìnὲ*   *wá*   *tɔ̀*   *Ø*   *kán*   *hɑ̌*
    eat-thing   DET   REL   man   DET   buy   3SG.DO   SC   give

    kàbìà   *wá]*   *è*   *jíjὲ*
    child   DET   3SG   spoil

    'The food which the man bought for the child is spoilt'

b.   *kàbìà*   *wá*   *[kó*   *nyìnὲ*   *wá*   *tɔ̀*   *jí-sɔ́*   *kán*   *hɑ̌*   *Ø]*
    child   DET   REL   man   DET   buy   eat-thing   SC   give   3SG.IO

    wɔ̀   *lánɔ̀*
    be at   home

    'The child whom the man bought the food for is at home'

c.   *nyìnὲ*   *[kó*   *chèè*   *wá*   *pò*   *Ø*   *wá]*   *è*   *chùàlέ*
    man   REL   woman   DET   marry   3SG.DO   DET   3SG   good
    'The man whom the woman married is good'

d.   *wùrà-sɔ̀*   *[kó*   *é*   *tɔ́*   *Ø*   *wá]*   *mù*   *láá*   *wɔ̀*   *lè*
    wear-thing REL   1SG   buy   3SG.DO   DET   3SG.POSS   price   be at   hard
    'The dress which I bought is expensive'

e.   *ŋnà-pò*   *wá*   *[kó*   *Ámá*   *kὲὲ*   *ŋɔ̀sré*   *wá*   *kán*   *hɑ̌*   *Ø*   *wá]*
    show-person   DET   REL   name   take   money   DET   SC   give   3SG.IO DET

    è   *yέ*   *è-n*   *bá*   *nfὲὲ*
    3SG   say   3SG-FUT   come   here

    'The teacher, whom Ama gave the money to said she will come here'

Direct and indirect objects of the RC in the form of the theme or the goal in an SVC may occur as heads of the main clause, leaving a gap in the object position in the RC. In examples (5a, c and d), the objects of the RC *jísɔ́ wá* 'the food', *nyìnὲ* 'man', *wùràsɔ̀* 'dress' occur as direct objects of the verbs *tɔ̀* 'buy' and *pò* 'marry'. The object reference *mù* which co-references the head of the main clause is not expressed in the RC. Similarly, the indirect objects, *kàbìà wá* 'the child' and *ŋnà pò wá* 'the teacher' in examples (b and e) who also serve as the goals of the SVCs do not have their pronoun object form *mù* expressed in the RC. This seems to be so because these are strategies that

Dompo uses probably because the language cannot actually relativize the indirect object or instrument, hence the use of the serial construction. For instance, with example (5e), one has to say 'the teacher, whom Ama took money and gave her, said she will come here'. This is not syntactic relativization of the indirect object but rather a direct object of give in the relative clause.

8.2.1.1.3   Relativization of instrumental NPs

Instrumental NPs can be relativized in Dompo. Consider the following examples where the instruments of the clauses *kwììsɔ̀* 'knife' and *flá* 'rope' are relativized in examples (b and d), leaving a gap in the relative clause.

6a.   *nyìnɛ̀*   *wá*   *kɛ̀ɛ̀*   *kwììsɔ̀*   *wá*   *kán*   *mɔ̀ɔ̀*   *sɔ́*   *wá*
       man   DET   take   cut-thing   DET   SC   kill   animal   DET
       'The man killed the animal with a knife'

b.   *kwììsɔ̀*   *wá*   *[kó*   *nyìnɛ̀*   *wá*   *kɛ̀ɛ̀*   *Ø*   *kán*   *mɔ̀ɔ̀*   *sɔ́*   *wá]*
       cut-thing   DET   REL   man   DET   take   3SG.DO   SC   kill   animal   DET
       'The knife which the man killed the animal with'

c.   *chɛ̀ɛ̀*   *wá*   *kɛ̀ɛ̀*   *flá*   *kán*   *krɛ̀*   *pɔ́ɔ́*   *áná*
       woman   DET   take   rope   SC   tie   stick   QUANT
       'The woman tied the sticks with a rope'

d.   *flá*   *[kó*   *chɛ̀ɛ̀*   *wá*   *kɛ̀ɛ̀*   *Ø*   *kán*   *krɛ̀*   *pɔ́ɔ́*   *áná]*
       rope   REL   woman   DET   take   3SG.DO   SC   tie   stick   QUANT
       'The rope which the woman used to tie the sticks'

8.2.1.1.4   Relativization of locative postpositional phrase

The complement of a postpositional phrase in a locative construction can be relativized in Dompo. Observe the following examples where examples (7b and d) are the relativized postpositional phrases.

7a.   *Ámá*   *kɛ̀ɛ̀*   *wùlò*   *wá*   *kán*   *dàŋà*   *táblò*   *wá*   *wó*
       NAME   take   book   DET   SC   put   table   DET   on
       'Ama put the book on the table'

b.   *táblò*   *wá*   *wó*   *[kó*   *Ámá*   *kɛ̀ɛ̀*   *wùlò*   *wá]*   *kán*   *dàŋà*
       table   DET   on   REL   NAME   take   book   DET   SC   put
       'The table on which Ama put the book'

c.   *bì*   *mɔ̀ɔ̀*   *séé*   *wá*   *wɔ̀*   *bù*   *wá*   *rɔ́*
       3PL   kill   goat   DET   be at   room   DET   in
       'They killed the goat in the room'

d.   *bù*   *wá*   *rɔ́*   *[kó*   *bì*   *mɔ̀ɔ̀*   *séé*   *wá]*
       room   DET   in   REL   3PL   kill   goat   DET
       'The room in which they killed the goat'

8.2.1.1.5   Relativization of possessors

A relativized possessive NP has its position in the relative clause filled by the object possessive pronoun 'OBJ.POSS'. The possessive pronoun may occur immediately after the V$_1$ in a serial verb construction as can be seen in example (8a), after the relativizer as is illustrated in example (8b) or at the end of the relative clause in example (8c). The possessive pronoun markers agree in number and person with the relativized noun phrase. Observe these in the following examples.

8a.
chèè	*wá*	*[kó*	*nyìnè*	*wá*	*tɔ́*	*mù*	*jí-sɔ́*	*kán*
woman	DET	REL	man	DET	buy	3SG.POSS	food-thing	SC

hɛ̌	*kàbìà*	*wá*	*è]*	*yɔ́*	*ndɔ̀ɔ̀-rɔ́*
give	child	DET	3SG	go	farm-SFX

'The woman whose food the man bought for the child went to the farm'

b.
nyìnè	*áná*	*[kó*	*bán*	*lánɔ̀*	*wá*	*chùàlé*	*bì]*	*bá*	*nfèè*
man	QUANT	REL	3PL.POSS	house	DET	beautiful	3PL	come	here

'The men whose house is beautiful came here'

c.
é	*chò*	*bù*	*[kó*	*è*	*wɔ̀*	*pépré*	*wá*	*mù]*	*ŋkɛ̀lɔ́*
1SG	pass	house	REL	3SG	be at	red	DET	3SG.POSS	side

'I passed beside the house which is red'

8.2.1.2   Tense and Aspect in relative clauses

Tense and aspect manifestation in relative clauses are not different from the way they are reflected in main clauses (see §4.6 for further discussion). Below is a description of how these two features occur in the present, past and future tenses in relative clauses.

Present progressive

9a.
kàbìà	*[kó*	*è*	*wɔ̀*	*káà*	*wélé*	*bwɛ̀è*	*wá]*	*è*	*lɔ́*
child	REL	3SG	be at	PROG	crawl	slow	DET	3SG	sick

'The child who is crawling slowly is sick'

Past

b.
drú-bɔ́-pó	*wá*	*[kó*	*è*	*sáŋè*	*kàbìà*	*wá]*	*lè*	*mí*
medicine-make-person	DET	REL	3SG	untie	child	DET	be	1SG

'The doctor who healed the child is me'

Future

c.
chèè	*[kó*	*è-n*	*hɛ̌*	*mí*	*ŋɔ̀sré*	*wá]*	*è*	*bá*	*nfèè*
woman	REL	3SG.FUT	give	1SG	money	DET	3SG	come	here

'The woman who will give me the money came here'

The present progressive marker *káà* is used to mark continuous action. In the examples above, the referents of the noun phrases that are carrying out the actions described by the verbs are

relativized. There is no affix marking the past tense in Dompo. As discussed in (§2.6.3.2) tone often distinguishes between past and present tense. The use of additional markers such as temporal markers also helps tell the period an action was carried out. The future tense *'n'* is marked on the 3SG pronoun after the relativizer.

8.2.1.3 Other functions of the relativizer

The relative marker *kó* can also be used as a marker to express indefiniteness and uncertainty. In the following examples, we see that *kó*, which is used as an indefinite marker, occurs after the main nouns *chèè* 'woman', *shìà* 'person', *só* 'thing' and *kè* 'day'. The position *kó* occupies, when it is used as an indefinite marker is the same position it occupies when it is used as a relativizer in a relative clause. It also occurs before verbs when it is used in both instances. Its use as an indefinite marker may thus be a case of possible commencement of a grammaticalization that might lead to the head NP and its relative clause modifier, minus the verb and the rest of the main clause transforming into a kind of main clause. Observe the following examples.

10a. *chèè*   *kó*   *jòò*   *kàntètè*   *wá*
      woman   INDEF chase dog   DET
      'A certain woman chased the dog'

b.   *shìà*   *kó*   *bà*   *nfèè*
      person INDEF come   here
      'Someone came here'

c.   *só*   *kó*   *ó*   *léé*   *mí-n*   *hã̌*   *wó*
      thing   INDEF 2SG   want   1SG-FUT   give   2SG
      'Anything you want, I will give you'

d.   *kè*   *kó*   *ó-n*   *tré*   *mí*   *mín*   *bá*
      day   INDEF 2SG-FUT   call   1SG   1SG-FUT   come
      'Any day you will call me, I will come'

Secondly, *kó* can also be used as an emphatic marker to co-reference the agent of an action. Consider the examples that follow.

11a. *mù*   *kó*   *è*   *tré*   *mí*
      3SG   EMP   3SG   call   1SG
      'He who is the one that called me.'

b.   *bán*   *kó*   *bì*   *tré*   *mú*
      3PL   EMP   3PL   call   3SG
      'They who are the ones that called him'

Also, *kó* serves as a temporal marker that introduces the time of reference an activity took place or was carried out by the speaker. It also introduces the setting of an action. These are discussed in (§8.2.3.2) under temporal clauses.

8.2.2   Complement clauses

A clause that functions as an argument, either subject or object of another clause, is termed a complement clause (Noonan 1985; Payne 1997). A complement clause is a dependent clause which serves as the argument of a verb. The particle *fnέ* introduces the complement clause in Dompo. There are several verbs that take complements. Dixon (2006) refers to such verbs as restricted verbs. These verbs occur within the main clause. Dixon also mentions another category of verbs called unrestrictive verbs which form the predicate of the main clause. Dompo has very few verbs that are considered restrictive. The verbs listed below are some of the restricted verbs that precede the complement clause.

12.   *nyí*   'know/ 'think'

       jáá   'think'

       kùlè   'beg'

       wù   'see' / 'realise'

       nú   'hear'

       yέ   'say'/ 'tell'

       báhé   'worry'

       bɔ̀ bólí (lit. make mind)   'decide'

       nú mù ntnɔ̀ (lit. see its under)   'agree'

       hɔ̀ɔ̀ njì (lit. collect eat)   'hope'

       bɔ́ yìrɔ̀ (lit. make/do body)   'pretend'

The following shows examples where some of these verbs are used before the complementizer, *fnέ*. The complement clauses in the brackets form the objects of the verbs in the matrix sentences.

13a.   *é*   *nyí*   *[fnέ*   *Ámá*   *bà*   *nfèè*   *kábrè]*
       1SG   know   COMP   name   come   here   today
       'I know that Ama came here today'

b.   *Ámá*   *wú*   *[fnέ*   *kàbìà*   *wá*   *yùrí*   *ŋɔ̀srè*   *wá]*
       name   see   COMP   child   DET   steal   money   DET
       'Ama saw that the child stole the money'

c.   *é*   *mín*   *nú*   *[fnέ*   *è*   *bá]*
       1SG   NEG   hear   COMP   3SG   come
       'I did not hear that he came'

d.   *é*   *bɔ́*   *mí*   *yíró*   *[fnέ*   *pìà*   *pò*   *chèé*   *mí]*
       1SG   make   1SG   body   COMP   catch   person   woman   1SG
       'I pretended that I was a policewoman'

The complement clause can also serve as the object of a V₂. In the examples below, *Ámá* and *kàbìà wá* serve as the objects of the verb *léé* 'want'. The complement clauses serve as the objects of the verbs *nyí* 'know' and *jáá* 'think'. Consider the examples below.

14a.
é	*léé*	*nè*	*Ámá*	*nyí*	*[fnɛ́*	*mù*	*dáá*	*lè*	*Kòfí]*
1SG	want	CONJ	NAME	know	COMP	3SG.POSS	elder	be at	NAME

'I want Ama to know that Kofi is senior to her'

b.
é	*léé*	*nè*	*kàbìà*	*wá*	*jáá*	*[fnɛ́*	*mín*	*brí*	*mú]*
1SG	want	and	child	DET	think	COMP	1SG.FUT	beat	3SG

'I want the child to think that I will beat him'

The complement clause can be embedded within another complement clause. This is exemplified in example (15) below where the second complement clause is embedded in the first. The conjunction *nè* 'and' operates between them.

15.
é	*nyí*	*[fnɛ́*	*nè*	*mùa*	*[nyí*	*fnɛ́*	*nyìnè*	*wá*	*bá*
1SG	know	COMPL	CONJ	2SG.IND	know	COMP	man	DET	come

nfèè	*today]*
here	kábrè

'I know that (and) she knows that the man came here today'

The restrictive verb *yɛ́* 'say/tell' can function on its own without taking on the complementizer *fnɛ́* after it. This can be contrasted with Akan where the complementizer, as demonstrated in example (17a) is a compulsory element after the verb *kɑ̀ɑ̀* 'say' otherwise, the sentence will be ungrammatical. We thus observe that while example (16a) in Dompo operates without the complementizer, example (16b), on the other hand, has the complementizer, as well as the restrictive verb 'say', present. Notice also that both sentences are considered grammatical in Dompo. Consider this in the following examples.

Dompo

16a.
Ámá	*yɛ́*	*[è*	*bá*	*nfèè]*
NAME	say	3SG	come	here

'Ama said she came here'

b.
Ámá	*yɛ́*	*[fnɛ́*	*è*	*bá*	*nfèè]*
NAME	say	COMP	3SG	come	here

'Ama said that she came here'

Akan

17a.
Ámá	*kɑ̀ɑ̀*	*[sɛ́*	*ɔ̀bàà*	*há]*
NAME	say.PST	COMP	3SG.come.PST	here

'Ama said that she came here'

b.
*Ámá	*kɑ̀ɑ̀*	*[?*	*ɔ̀bàà*	*há]*
Ama	say.PST	?	3SG.come.PST	here

'Ama said that she came here'

8.2.2.1 Other functions of fnɛ́

fnɛ́ can be used as a comparative term to describe one thing in relation to another. Example (13d) above also falls into this category whereby the speaker makes herself appear like a policewoman. In the examples below, we see Kòfí being described as someone who can dance like Michael Jackson, and the child being beaten as if he were a thief. The listener's head is also compared to that of a cow. This is illustrated in examples (18 a, b and c) respectively. Example (d) compares the agent's run to that of a horse. Just like when it is used as a complementizer, *fnɛ́* in its usage as a comparative particle also occurs after the main verbs *chàà* 'dance', *brí* 'beat' and *hlé* 'run'. In its usage as a complementizer, we see that *fnɛ́* serves as the argument of the verb. In these instances where it is used as a comparative element, it heads the noun phrase and precedes it. In the examples below, *fnɛ́* is the head of the noun phrases Michael Jackson, *yùyrí pò* 'thief', *nàà ŋù* 'cow's head' and *gbáŋá* 'horse'. The following are the examples.

18a.	*Kòfí*	*è-n*		*tín*		*chàà*	*[fnè*	*Michael Jackso*n]
	NAME	3SG-FUT		be.able		dance	COMP	Michael Jackson
	'Kofi can dance like Michael Jackson'							

b.	*è*	*brí*	*kàbìà*	*wá*	*[fnè*	*yùyrí-pò*	*ná]*
	3SG	beat	child	DET	COMP	steal-person	FOC
	'He beat the child like a thief'						

c.	*mù*	*ŋù*	*[fnè*	*nàà*	*ŋù]*
	2SG	head	COMP	cow	head
	'Your head like that of a cows'				

d.	*è*	*hlé*	*mlá-mlá*	*[fnè*	*gbáŋa]*
	3SG	run	fast-RED	COMP	horse
	'He runs fast like a horse'				

fnɛ́ is also used as an interrogative marker in interrogative sentences to mean how many or how much. Further discussion of its usage and further examples can be found in (§5.4.2.4).

8.2.3 Adverbial Clauses

An adverbial clause is a subordinate clause, which when present in a construction, serves the purpose of modifying the verb phrase or the whole clause. It is sometimes considered optional in the sense that without its presence, the sentence can still be grammatical. It thus adds extra information to the main clause by providing additional information regarding the time, place, manner, and reason of events described by the main clause. Adverbs have been discussed in (§4.10). In this section, their use as dependent clauses to form complex structures is explored.

8.2.3.1 Conditional Clauses

The conditional clause expresses the conditions for the situation expressed in the main clause to materialise. The conditional clause is introduced by *nɛ́* in Dompo and may occur either before or

after the main clause. *nɛ́* occurs at the beginning of the conditional clause it marks. If *nɛ́* occurs before the 2SG pronoun *ó* and the 3SG pronoun *è*, the vowel /ɛ/ changes its quality to become like the following vowel. Its realisation now becomes *nó* and *né* respectively. This is shown in examples (19 c and d). The vowel /ɛ/ is, however, retained in its form when it precedes the nouns *Kòfí* and *píní* 'mortar' which begin with a consonant. Similarly, in example (e) where *né* comes after the main clause, the vowel does not change its quality because of the following consonant. This indicates that the vowel in *nɛ́* only comes under the influence of vowels that succeed it and not consonants. Consider these processes in the examples below.

19a.   *nɛ́*   *Kòfí*   *bà*   *nfèè*   *mí-n*   *brí*   *mú*
      COND   NAME   come   here   1SG.FUT   beat   3SG
      'If Kofi comes here, I will beat him'

b.   *nɛ́*   *píní*   *wɔ̀*   *ó*   *krɔ́*   *nè*   *pínímpɔ̀ɔ̀*   *màà*   *ó*   *krɔ́*
     COND   mortar   be at   2SG   side   CONJ   pestle   NEG   2SG   side

     ón   *tín*   *wèsè*   *jí-sɔ́*   *à?*
     2SG   BE.ABLE   pound   eat-thing   Q

     'If you have mortar and you don't have pestle can you pound food to eat?'

c.   '*nó*   *ó*   *kàà*   **nó**   **ó**   *bɔ́*   *lèlè*   *ó*   *bɔ́*   *hɑ̌*   *ó*
     COND   2SG   wake   CONJ   2SG   do   good   2SG   do   give   2SG

     yíró.   *nó*   *ó*   *bɔ̀*   *mlá*   *ó*   *bɔ́*   *kán*   *hɑ̌*   *ó*   *yírò'*
     body   COND   2SG   do   bad   2SG   do   to   give   2SG   body

     'If you do good, you do it for yourself and if you do bad, you do it for yourself'
     (doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_some folktales and idioms_ # 22)

d.   '*sèŋùnù*   *kó*   *è*   *káà*   *è*   *mìn*   *dɛ́*   *níí*   *bí*   *è*
     tortoise   REL   3SG   wake   3SG   NEG   have   mother   child   3SG

     mìn   *dɛ́*   *níí*   *sópò*   *chèè.*   **né**   *è*   *báá*   *wù*   *mnɛ́*   *kó*
     NEG   have   mother   young   girl   COND   3SG   come   die   who   INDEF

     è   *púlà*   *mú*   *pɛ́ɛ́?*
     3SG   bury   3SG   PART?'

     'The tortoise does not have any siblings or relatives. When it dies, who will bury it?'
     (doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_some folktales and idioms_ # 9)

e.   *mí-n*   *bá*   *ó*   *lándɔ̀*   *né*   *bwàrè*   *wá*   *mìn*   *bá*
     1SG.FUT   come   2SG   house   COND   rain   DET   NEG   come
     'I will come to your house if it does not rain'

In a lot of the natural texts which involve the use of the conditional marker, there is also the presence of the conjunction *nè* which has the vowel undergoing the same process as the conditional marker when it occurs before a vowel. This can be seen in example (20). *nè* in its usage as a conjunction in these instances conjoins two clauses.

20.

'kàbrè	[nó	ó	dǎ	pó	[nó	ó	mín	dàà	mù	kán
today	COND	2SG	cook	soup	CONJ	2SG	NEG	taste	3SG	to

kìnì]	ó-n	bíí	fnέ	è	wɔ̀	blὲ	á?'
see	2SG-FUT	know	COMPL	3SG	be	tasty	Q

'If you cook and you don't taste, how will you know that the food is tasty?'

(doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_some folktales and idioms_ # 29)

8.2.3.2 Temporal Clauses

Temporal adverbial clauses illustrate the sequences of action undertaken by the speaker or the person described in an utterance. The actions can occur at the same time or follow the ones described in the main clause. The following are some examples from some narratives in the language. The narrative below tells the story of a young boy who had been sent on an errand to fetch fire. He came back to say there was no fire. The one who had sent the boy doubted this because there were no ashes on the boy's hands to prove he had gone looking for the fire.

21a.

'kó	è	yɔ́	rέ,	è	bá	yέ	dὲὲ	wá	dũ̀ŋ
TEMP	3SG	go	TOP	3SG	come	say	fire	DET	extinguish

nὲ	kàdrὲ	wá	yὲ	flé	ó	flé.	dὲὲ	wá	mín	dṹŋ
CONJ	elder	DET	say	lie	2SG	lie	fire	DET	NEG	extinguish

kó	ó	bá	è	mín	wú	nsìnɛ	ó	hàlé	wó.	è
TEMP	2SG	come	3SG	NEG	see	ash	2SG	hand	POST	3SG

mìn	nyí	fnέ	ó	yɔ́	nɔ̀.
NEG	know	COMPL	2SG	go	there.

'When the boy went on the errand to fetch fire, he came back to say the fire was out. The elder who sent him back to get the fire said he was lying and that the fire was not out. The elder further said when the boy came back, he did not see any traces of ash on his hands and thus he did not know if the boy went on the errand or not'.

(doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_some folktales and idioms_ # 27)

The temporal marker is used twice in the illustration. It is used at the beginning of the utterance to show what happened when the boy first went on the errand and in the middle of the utterance to show what occurred when he returned from carrying out the errand. In addition to this, it introduces the setting of an event. It must be noted that *kó* is glossed differently in the various contexts because the functions of this single morpheme are different in different contexts. In example (b), below, *kó* sets off the sentence by indicating the period when the action described in the sentence took place. In example (c), *kó* co-references the specific place the interlocuters usually meet.

b.

kó	á-yɔ́	kɔ́	wá	á-mɔ̃́ɔ̃́	bà-shìà	tàmbà	nɔ̀nɔ̀
when	1PL-go	war	DET	1PL-kill	PL-person	QUANT	there

'When we went to war, we killed a lot of people there'

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c.

Kòfí	*è*	*yílí*	*kán*	*jòò*	*mí*	*wɔ̀*	*kàbò*	*[kó*	*á*
name	3SG	stand	SC	wait	1SG	be at	place	REL	1PL

sré	*ŋkɛ̀ɛ́-ŋkɛ̀*	*wá]*
meet	day-RED	DET

'Kofi waited for me where we usually meet'

The conditional marker *nɛ́* is sometimes used as a temporal marker in Dompo to indicate the time of reference an event took place. The folktale below tells of the story of spider who fell into water and entered a crocodile's cave. The crocodile had just given birth to five children and because it was blind, anytime it asks spider to prepare food for them to eat, spider would kill one of the crocodile's children and use the meat to prepare soup. *nɛ́* introduces the time frame within which spider kills one of the crocodile's children to prepare food in example (23a). In example (b), *nɛ́* introduces the clause by establishing the time in which spider deceived crocodile into thinking all its five children are still alive.

22a.

'lèŋè	*yɛ́*	*nànsɛ̀*	*mù*	*bɔ́*	*jí-sɔ́.*	*nɛ́*	*è*	*bɔ́*
crocodile	say	spider	3SG	make	eat-thing	COND	3SG	make

.

jí-sɔ́	*nɛ̀*	*mù*	*mɔ́ɔ́*	*m-bìà*	*áná*	*kó*	*kán*	*dàà̀*
eat-thing	CONJ	3SG	kill	PL-child	QUANT	INDEF	SC	cook

pó	*nɛ́*	*bì*	*jí*
soup	CONJ	3PL	eat

'The crocodile asked the spider to prepare some food. When spider prepares the food, it would kill one of crocodile's children to prepare soup for them to eat'

(doy_20161122_42_EDD_KMNSADKNANAK_more folktales and idioms_ # 66)

b.

né	*è*	*jrɛ́*	*dèdìá*	*lùè*	*tó*	*nɛ̀*	*mù*	*kɛ́ɛ́*	*kán*
COND	3SG	bath	DEM	finish	INT	CONJ	3SG	take	SC

wúrà	*mù*	*hàlé*
put	3SG	hand.

'When it finishes bathing this one, it immediately puts it in crocodile's hands'

(doy_20161122_42_EDD_KMNSADKNANAK_more folktales and idioms_cont #66)

8.2.3.3 'Before' Clauses

Before clauses in Dompo are introduced by either the relativizer *kó* or the conditional marker *nɛ́* or sometimes neither. *kó* is followed by the verb *nyá* 'get' and the serial connector *kán* 'SC'. Another verb follows the serial connector. These elements are all in the subordinate clause. This clause is followed by the main clause. This temporal clause can occur either before or after the main clause. It is used to express the fact that the state of affairs expressed in the clause will not have happened during the time the state of affairs specified in the main clause happened. Observe

the following elicited examples. Examples (23a) and (b) show the before clause coming before the main clause. We would notice that in example (c), the subordinate clause occurs after the main clause. In some instances, such as in this example, the relativizer is absent. Similarly, in example (d), the conditional marker *né* starts the subordinate clause. The vowel of this marker is elided to take on the features of the following vowel sound. However, the relativizer is absent when the main clause comes before the subordinate clause as can be seen in examples (e and f). The verb *nyá* 'get' and the serial connector *kán* 'SC' start the subordinate clause in such instances.

23a.
kó	*è*	*nyá*	*kán*	*bá*	*nfèè*	*wá*	*è*	*jrέ*
REL	3SG	get	SC	come	here	DET	3SG	bath

'Before he came here, he took his bath'

b.
kó	*è*	*nyá*	*kán*	*yɔ́*	*ndɔ̀ɔ̀-rɔ́*	*wá*	*è*	*kúlé*	*Gbàrèngò*
REL	3SG	get	SC	go	farm-SFX	DET	3SG	beg	God

'Before he went to the farm, he prayed'

c.
è	*jrέ*	*nyá*	*kán*	*bá*	*nfèè*
3SG	bath	get	SC	come	here

'He took his bath before he came here'

d.
nó	*ón*	*brà*	*mí*	*jí-śɔ*	*wá*	*frò*	*ó*	*hálé*
COND	2SG	bring	1SG	eat-thing	DET	wash	2SG	hand

'Before you bring me food, wash your hand'

e.
frò	*ó*	*hálé*	*nyá*	*kán*	*brà*	*mí*	*jí-sɔ́*
wash	2SG	hand	get	SC	bring	1SG	eat-thing

'Wash your hand before you bring me food'

f.
ó-n	*lúá*	*Sámpé*	*nyá*	*kán*	*yɔ́*	*Dòmpò lánɔ̀*
2SG-FUT	enter	Sampe	get	SC	go	Dompo house

'You will reach Gbao before Dompofie'

It is also acceptable not to have either the relativizer or the conditional marker present in an utterance. It can be observed that the absence of these markers mostly happens when the before clause occurs after the main clause. This is exemplified in examples (24a and b).

24a.
dǜŋ	*nyɔ̀ɔ̀-sɔ̀*	*wá*	*nyá*	*kán*	*déhè*
extinquish	light-thing	DET	get	SC	sleep

'Switch off the light before you sleep'

b.
nù	*mí*	*krɔ́*	*nyá*	*kán*	*brì*	*mí*
hear	1SG	POSS	get	SC	beat	1SG

'Listen to me before you beat me'

All the examples above are from elicited sentences. The example below is from a folktale. It tells the story of the dog that can never seem to stop stealing and the rabbit that tells him that he can help him stop, advising him as follows:

25.
dáŋàá	*yà*	*léé*	*nfàmnὲ*	*kíní*	*pó*	*blǎ́*	*kán*	*bá.*	*Né*	*è*
so	go	want	backyard	watch	person	meat	SC	come	CONJ	3SG

yá	*léé*	*mú*	*kán*	*bà.*	*Né*	*lɔ̀ŋɔ̀*	*yé*	*yòò*	*bà*	*chínà*	*ὲὲ*
go	want	3SG	SC	come.	CONJ	rabbit	say	INTJ	come	sit	PART

mín		*dàŋà*	*mù*	*dὲὲ*	*wó*	*nὲ*	*mù*	*wúló*	***né***	***é***
1SG.FUT		put	3SG	fire	POSTP	COND	3SG	dry	CONJ	1SG

nyá	***kán***	*wùrà*	*drú*		*wá*	*ó*	*krɔ́.*
get	SC	put	medicine		DET	2SG	side

'Therefore, go and look for pork and bring it and the dog went to look for it and brought it. Then rabbit said okay come and sit down. I am putting it over the fire to dry so that it becomes dry before I can put it in the medicine for you'

(doy_20161122_42_EDD_KMNSADKNANAK_more folktales and idioms_ # 71)

8.2.3.4 Reason Clauses

Reason clauses express why a particular action was undertaken by the speaker. Such a clause is introduced by the relativizer *kó*. This subordinate clause can occur either before or after the main clause. Examples (26a and b) have the reason clauses occurring before the main clauses. These sentences can be alternated to have the main clauses coming before the reason clauses without altering the elements in the construction. Observe the following examples.

26a.
[kó	*é*	*gbró*	*wá]*	*[mí-n*	*hɔ̀ɔ̀*	*mí*	*wísí]*
REL	1SG	tired	DET	1SG-FUT	get	1SG.POSS	rest

'Because I am tired, I will get my rest'

b.
kó	*ó*	*nyá*	*kán*	*bá*	*nfèè*	*mlá*	*wá*	*má-n*	*brí*	*wó*
REL	2SG	get	SC	come	here	quick	DET	1SG-FUT	beat	2SG

'Because you came here early, I will not beat you'

c.
é	*léé*	*mù*	*sé*	*kó*	*é*	*nyí*	*fnɛ́*	*kàbìà*	*lὲlὲ*	*ná*	*wá*
1SG	like	3SG	matter	REL	1SG	know	COMPL	child	good	FOC	DET

'I like her because I know that she is a good girl'

Example (27a) below gives a typical resultative construction by the use of the phrase *mù kó è yí nè* 'it is what let'. This marker comes up again in the result clause section. The first *kó* explains the fact that because the speaker knew the situation of the patient, he or she was able to help. The resultative clause thus reveals the action that was taken by the speaker. Example (b) is an example from a folktale. In this extract, crab is explaining to the elder brother the reason he carried out the action of telling his younger brother his name.

27a.
kó	*é*	*nyí*	*fnέ*	*è*	*dǎŋ*	*wá*	*mù*	*kó*	*è*	*yí*
REL	1SG	know	COMPL	3SG	old	DET	3SG	REL	3SG	let

nέ	*é*	*chá*	*mú*	*wó*
CONJ	1SG	add	3SG	POST

'I helped her because I knew that she is old/ Because I knew she is old is the reason I helped her'

b.
'nέ	*ó*	*níí*		*kùrè*	*fǔá*		*nè*	*ó*	*sópó*	*bì*
COND	2SG	mother		bear	2SG.IND		CONJ	2SG	young	3PL

jí	*kán*	*yìέ*	*mú*	*à?*	**mù**	**kó**	*è*	**yí**	*nè*
eat	SC	leave	3SG	Q?	3SG	REL	3SG	let	CONJ

é	*yέ*	*mù*	*krɔ́.*	*fnέ*	*ó*	*nyìnè*	*lè*	*kὲ'*
1SG	say	3SG	side	that	2SG	name	be	tomorrow.

'If your mother gives birth to you and your young sibling do you eat and leave him? That is the reason I told him that your name is tomorrow'

(doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_some folktales and idioms_ # 24)

8.2.3.5 Result Clauses

Result clauses explain the reason why something occurs. There are three markers used to mark result clauses. The first one is the conventional *dáŋàá* 'so' marker. The two other phrases that capture resultatives are *è yí nέ* 'lit. it is what let or as a result of' and *nέ è bɔ́* 'lit. and it make or because of'. In example (28a), the conditional marker *nέ* introduces the first clause. This contrasts with its introduction of subordinate clauses that has been seen so far. *dáŋàá* 'so' introduces the second clause, which is also the resultative clause, as can be seen in example (28a). This resultative marker conjoins two independent clauses since both clauses can stand on their own and make meaning. Examples (b and c) show how the resultative phrases are used. Thus, the excessive crying of the child is what resulted in the speaker leaving her at home. The child was also not permitted to go to school as a result of the heavy rains. Again, we see the influence of the following vowel *è* '3SG' in example (b) on the preceeding vowel '*ɛ*' in nέ 'CONJ' which influences the latter to change its quality to be like the former. In example (c), the conditional marker *nέ* introduces the second clause by stating the condition under which the child should not go to school. Observe this in the following examples.

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28a.

né	è	bɔ̀	è	mìn	bá	nfèè	**dáŋàá**	á	mín	nyí	mú
COND	3SG	make	3SG	NEG	come	here	so	1PL	NEG	know	3SG

'He does not come here so we don't know him'

b.

kàbìà	wá	è	sʉ́	kán	chó.	è	**yí**	**né**	é	yìè	mú
child	DET	3SG	cry	SC	pass	3SG	let	CONJ	1SG	leave	3SG

lànɔ̀
home

'The child cried too much, as a result, I left him at home'

c.

bwàrè	mbá	kàbrè	**né**	è	**bɔ́**	ó	mán	yɔ́	jùlà-kpa
rain	come	today	COND	3SG	make	2SG	NEG	go	learn-place

'It will rain today so don't go to school'

The example below shows a resultative incident in the corpus. It tells the story of four women who all lived in a household. One of the women hated one other woman so much that when she cooked, she gave to the two others and not the one she hated. One day she bought medicine to kill some animals in her room and some of the powdery medicine, unknown to her, entered some flour which she used to prepare food. She used the poisoned flour to prepare food and served the women she liked, leaving the one she did not. The women who ate the food died and the one who did not, her life was saved. The moral of the story is that when someone does something unfair to you, do not be bothered so much because you do not know what God will be saving you from.

29.

'kó	è	bɔ́		jí-sɔ́	wá	wú.	kó	è	hɑ̌	è
INDEF	3SG	make	eat-thing		DET	die	INDEF	3SG	give	3SG

wú.	kó	è	mìn	hɑ̌	è	bɔ́	ntí?	(è	nyá	mù
die	INDEF	3SG	NEG	give	3SG	make	what	3SG	get	3SG.POSS

yìrò).	mù		Bwàrè	nywálé		à?	**dáŋàá**	né	fɔ́		né
body	3SG.POSS		God	good		Q	so	COND	stranger		CONJ

shíá	chìnà	lànɔ̀	né	è	bɔ́	sɔ́	kó	né	è	mìn
person	sit	house	CONJ	3SG	make	thing	INDEF	CONJ	3SG	NEG

hɑ̌	wó	rè	yìè	mú'
give	2SG	TOP	leave	3SG.

'The one who cooked died. The one she gave food to died. The one she did not give, what happened to her? She survived. Wasn't her God good? So, if a person and a stranger are living and the stranger cooks and does not give you, leave her'

(doy_20161118_37_EDD_NSAKMDKNANAK_Some folktales in Dompo # 40).

8.2.3.6 Simultaneous Clauses

Simultaneous clauses involve two clauses that are marked as occurring at the same time. The relativizer *kó* which functions as a temporal marker is used to introduce the first clause. The two clauses are joined by the conjunction *né.* The progressive marker *kàà* might be present in either

one or both clauses, to indicate the fact that the actions are in continuous motion. Even when the events have been described in the past, the progressive marker is still present in the utterance. The clause containing the relativizer can occur either before or after the main clause. In examples (30a and b), we see the former happening. Example (c) is without the relativizer.

30a.

kó	*chèè*	*wá*	*wɔ̀*	*káá*	*kpáréé*	*bù*	*wá,*	*nɛ́*	*kàbìà*	*wá*
REL	woman	DET	be at	PROG	clean	room	DET	CONJ	child	DET

wɔ̀	*káá*	*jrɛ́.*
be at	PROG	bath

'While the woman was cleaning the room, the child was bathing'

b.

kó	*é*	*yɔ́*	*lànɔ̀*	*wá*	*nὲ*	*Ámá*	*wɔ̀*	*káá*	*yílí*	*nɔ̀*
REL	1SG	go	home	DET	CONJ	Ama	be at	PROG	stand	there

'While I was going home, Ama was standing there'

c.

Kòfí	*è*	*tíŋè*	*kán*	*jrɛ́*	*nὲ*	*Ámá*	*wɔ̀*	*káá*	*dí*	*káá*
NAME	3SG	wake	SC	bath	CONJ	Ama	be at	PROG	sleep	PROG

kɔ́nɛ́
snore

'Kofi woke up and bathed while Ama slept and snored'

8.2.3.7 Manner clauses

Manner clauses illustrate the way an activity is carried out in the main clause. The marker *lóŋó* 'how' is used to indicate the way something is done. Observe the examples below.

31a.

Kòfí	*è*	*bɔ́*	*sɔ̀mì*	*wá*	*mlá-mlá*	*lóŋó*	*Ámá*	*bɔ̀*	*mù*
NAME	3SG	do	work	DET	quick-RED	how	NAME	do	3SG

'Kofi did the work quickly like how Ama did it'

b.

kàbìà	*wá*	*wélé*	*bwɛ̀ɛ́-bwɛ̀*	*kán*	*yá*	*fó*	*nɔ́*
child	DET	crawl	slow-RED	SC	go	reach	there

'The child crawled slowly to reach there'

In example (31a), *lóŋó* introduces the second clause and indicates the way Kofi did the work in comparison to how Ama did hers. Example (b) is without this marker. It portrays how slowly the child crawled to get to the destination.

8.2.3.8 Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses are introduced by the conditional marker *nɛ́*. The first clause may end with the utterance final particle *òò* (see §6.4.1) to indicate the speaker's insistence on carrying out a particular action. Observe their usage in the following elicited examples.

32a. | *né* | *è* | *lɔ́* | *òò* | *mí-n* | | *yá* | *kán* | *hɛ̌* | *mù* | *klà* |
|------|------|------|------|-------|---|------|------|------|------|------|
| COND | 1SG | sick | PART | 1SG-FUT | | go | SC | give | 3SG | greet |

'Even if I am sick, I will go and visit him'

b. | *né* | *è* | *kúlè* | *mí* | *òò* | *má-n* | | *hɛ̌* | *mù* | *jí-sɔ́* |
|------|------|-------|------|------|-------|---|------|------|--------|
| COND | 3SG | beg | 1SG | PART | NEG.FUT | | give | 3SG | eat-thing |

'Even if he begs me, I will not give him food'

8.3   Coordination

This section discusses coordination in Dompo — how constituents are conjoined into larger units. The markers that help conjoin these constituents are also discussed. The coordinators in Dompo include the conjunctive marker *nè* 'CONJ', the serial connector *kán*, the disjunctive marker *ánúú/ánɔ́ɔ́*, *núú/nɔ́ɔ́ /chénúú* 'or', the correlative disjunctive marker *o…o* and the juxtaposition of two independent clauses. Below is a table indicating the markers of coordination and their uses. The sections that follow describe the clauses these coordinators mark.

Marker	Function
nè 'and'	It connects two independent clauses
kán 'serial connector'	It is used to coordinate verbs in a series and joins clauses that contain one or more verbs.
ánúú/ánɔ́ɔ́, núú/nɔ́ɔ́ / chénúú 'or'	It is used to compound two or more of the same type of phrase and other phrases as well.
o … o 'disjunctive marker'	It is used to join two opposing clauses
No overt marker	juxtaposition of two independent clauses

Table 17. Table showing all the markers of coordination

8.3.1   The conjunctive marker *nè* 'and'

The conjunctive marker *nè* is the most popular connector in Dompo. It is used to connect two independent clauses. It is used frequently in a discourse, to start a sentence and to join sentences. The following illustrate its use in example (33a and b) where the conjunction joins two independent clauses. Example (c) exemplifies the use of the conjunction in the discourse, from natural text where we see several uses of the conjunction as the events unfold in the discourse.

33a.
Kòfí	*lèè*	*Ámá*	*nè*	*Ámá*	*lèè*	*Kòfí*
NAME	like	NAME	CONJ	NAME	like	NAME

'Kofi likes Ama and Ama likes Kofi'

b.
á	*brì*	*kàbìà*	*wá*	*nè*	*è*	*sū́*
1PL	beat	child	DET	CONJ	3SG	cry

'We beat the child and he cried'

c.
nè	*kàntètè*	*yè*	*éé*	*séé*	*sén*	*kó*	*ó*	*yè*
CONJ	dog	say	INTJ	goat	matter	INDEF	2SG	say

díá	*ná*	*á*	*yɔ́*	*è-n*		*yíè*	*ání*	*à?*
DEM	COND	1PL	go	3SG-FUT		leave	1PL	PART

nè	*séé*	*yè*	*áà,*	*kó*	*è*	*yɔ́*	*Mákà*	*kám*
CONJ	goat	say	INTJ	REL	3SG	go	Mecca	SC

bà	*díá*	*è*	*búú*	*Bwàrè*	*è.*	*è*	*màm*
come	DEM	3SG	cover	God	PART	3SG	NEG-FUT

bɔ́	*sèm*	*mlà.*	*í*	*nè*	*à*	*yɔ́.*	*nè*	*bì*
do	matter	bad	let	CONJ	1PL	go	CONJ	3PL

káá	*kán*	*yɔ̀.*
wake	to	go.

'And dog said to the goat this matter you have said, when we go will he leave us? And goat said because he (hyena) has just come back from Mecca, he will not do anything bad. Let us go. And they arose and went'

(doy_20161122_42_EDD_KMNSADKNANAK_more folktales and idioms_cont # 68)

8.3.2   The serial connector *kán*

Kán manifests itself as a serial coordinator in Dompo. It is used to coordinate verbs in a series and joins clauses that contain one or more verbs. This is exemplified in examples (34a, d and e). There can be more than one serial connector in a sentence as is illustrated in examples (34b and c). Thus, unlike in English, all the verbs are joined by *kán.* The sentences will be ungrammatical if the serial connector is absent. Observe the examples below.

34a.
chèè		*wá*	*kèé*	*mù*	*hàlé*	*kán*	*fàréé*	*kàchà*	*wá*	*nyɔ́*
woman		DET	take	3SG	hand	SC	split	cloth	DET	two

'The woman is using her hand to split the cloth into two'
(Cut and Break Video # 1)

b.
nyìnè	*wá*	*kèè*	*pɔ́ɔ́*	*kán*	*ŋméé*	*mù*		*jàmplò*	*kán*
man	DET	take	stick	SC	hit	3SG.POSS		thigh	and/to

kwìì	*mú*	*nyɔ́*
cut	3SG	two

'The man is using his thigh to break the stick into two'

(Cut and Break video # 05)

c.
Kòfí	*fèè*	*kán*	*kpàrèè*	*kán*	*bɔ́*	*jí-sɔ́*		*kán*	*déhé*
NAME	sweep	SC	clean	SC	make	eat-thing		SC	sleep

'Kofi swept, cleaned, cooked and slept'

d.
á	*píà*	*yùyrí-pò*	*kán*	*brí*	*mú*
1PL	catch	steal-person	SC	beat	3SG

'We caught a thief and beat him'

e.
Ámá	*è-n*	*dǎŋ*	*kán*	*fɛ́*	*nsɨ̀*
Ama	3SG.FUT	grow	SC	sell	water

'Ama will grow and sell water'

8.3.3   The disjunctive marker *ánúú/ánɔ́ɔ̀, núú/nɔ́ɔ̀ / chénúú* 'or'

Like the coordination marker, disjunctive markers in Dompo can compound two or more of the same type of phrase and other phrases as well. The disjunctive markers outlined above are used interchangeably. Consider their usage in the natural text in example (35a).

35a.
dáŋàá	*ànì*	*kró*	*nyɔ̌*	*bí-n*		*yɔ̀*	*pùlà*	*ánúú*	*kòólè*	*wá*
so	1PL	all	two	3PL-FUT		go	bury	DISJ	one	DET

bí-n	*yɔ̀*	*pùlà*	*péɛ́?*
3PL-FUT	go	bury	PART

'So is it the two of us you will go and bury or (just) the one who has died that you will go and bury at all?'

(doy_20161122_42_EDD_KMNSADKNANAK_more folktales and idioms_cont # 62)

In examples (b and c) below, two disjunctive markers *nɔ́ɔ̀* and *chénúú* can also be combined and used together in a sentence. It has been observed that in some instances, the consultants use the markers *núú* and in other instances, they use *nɔ́ɔ̀*, though both alternates imply the same thing and no speaker reported any difference in the meanings of the sentences they were used in.

b.
hǎ̀	*mì*	*dé*	*chénúú*	*dédìá*
give	1SG	this	DISJ	this

'Give me this or that'

c.
Ámá	*nɔ́ɔ́*	*Kòfí*	*fèè*	/	*Ámá*	*nɔ̀ɔ̀*	*chénúú*	*Kòfí*	*fèè*
NAME	DISJ	NAME	sweep		NAME	DISJ	DISJ	NAME	sweep

'Ama or Kofi swept'

d.
Kòfí	*ó*	*kíní*	*nɔ́ɔ́*	*Ámá* /	*Kòfí*	*ó*	*kíní*	*nɔ́ɔ́*	*chénúú*	*Ámá*
NAME	2SG	look	DISJ	NAME	NAME	2SG	look	DISJ	DISJ	NAME

'Are you looking for Kofi or Ama?'

8.3.4   The correlative disjunctive marker *o … o*

The correlative disjunctive marker is used to join two opposing clauses. The particle marks every argument in the clause except the last argument. Observe their use in the elicited examples below.

36a.   né   é   wɔ   ŋɔsré   ò   né   ŋɔsré   màà   mí   krɔ   ò
       REL   1SG   be at   money   DISJ   REL   money   NEG   1SG   side   DISJ

       mín   kúlé   Gbárèngò.
       1SG.FUT   beg   God

       'Whether I have money, or I don't have money, I will praise God'

b.   nó   ó   léé   ò   nó   ó   mín   léé   ò   mi-n   bá
       REL   2SG   like   DISJ   REL   2SG   NEG   like   DISJ   1SG-FUT   come
       'Whether you like it or not, I will come'

c.   ná   á   jí   ò   ná   á   mín   jí   ò   è-n
       REL   1PL   eat   DISJ   REL   1PL   NEG   eat   DISJ   3SG-FUT

       brí   ání
       beat   1PL

       'Whether we eat, or we don't eat, he will beat us'

8.3.5   Juxtaposition of clauses

The adversative in Dompo is not explicitly expressed. Dompo juxtaposes two independent clauses which seem to be opposing and leaves the adversative interpretation open to pragmatics. The elicited examples below illustrate this.

37a.   Kòfí   kpàrèè Ámá   mìn   kpárèè
       NAME   clean NAME   NEG   clean
       'Kofi cleaned but Ama did not'

b.   á   yɔ   mù   lánɔ   á   mín   wù   mù
       1PL   go   3SG.POSS   house   1PL   NEG   see   3SG
       'We went to her house but did not see her'

c.   é   tɔ   jí-sɔ   è   màá   blɛ́
       1SG   buy   eat-thing   3SG   NEG   tasty
       'I bought food but it was not tasty'

In some cases, nè 'CONJ' is used to join the two independent clauses to have the inference of the adversative. The conjunction reading is also possible in these examples. Consider the examples below.

38a.   Ámá   bá   nfèè   né   è   krɛ́
       NAME   come   here   CONJ   3SG   late
       'Ama came here but (and) she was late'

b.   mí-n   bá   né   é   mín   nyí   kpà   wá
       1SG-FUT   come   CONJ   1SG   NEG   know   road   DET
       'I will come but I don't know the way'

8.4   Serial Verb Constructions

Serial verb constructions are a common language phenomenon. They have been researched in a wide range of languages. Aikhenvald (2006: 1) notes that it is a widespread phenomenon in creole

languages, languages of South East Asia, Amazonia, Oceania, New Guinea and West African languages. Notable works on West African languages include (Ewe, Agbedor 1994, Ameka 2006; Dagaare, Bodomo 2002; Akan, Osam 2003; Chumburung, Hansford 2012; Yoruba, Bamgbose 1974, 1982; Fongbe, Lefebvre & Brousseau 2002).

This section discusses serial verb constructions (henceforth SVCs) in Dompo. Serial verb constructions discussed in this section differ from serial clause coordination discussed in (§8.3) above. While the former combine verbs into a single meaning, the latter relates to the semantics of serial clauses being separate by using different coordinators. The section discusses characteristics of Dompo serial verbs (§8.4.1). Further on in the section is a discussion on some functional types of serial verb constructions in (§8.4.2).

8.4.1   Serial Verb Constructions and their characteristics

An SVC can be described as a series, usually of two verbs, without any marker of coordination, and in which the two verbs function as a single predicate. In some instances, the events described by the verbs may occur as a single event. SVCs in Dompo also share the same subject, tense, aspect and mood. In the example (39a) below, there is no serial connector between the verbs *yà* 'go' 'and *ŋá* 'put' that would put any of the verbs in a coordinating or subordinating relationship. Similarly, example (b) does not have a serial connector between *bá* 'come' and *jí* 'eat'. Observe this in the examples below.

39a.   'kpá   kó   ó   kɛ̀ɛ̀   bám   yà   ŋá   bám   nɔ̀nɔ́'
        place REL   2SG   take   3PL   go   put   3PL   there
        'Go and put them where you took them from'

        (doy_20161122_42_EDD_KMNSADKNANAK_more folktales and idioms_cont # 59)

b.   *Ámá*   *è*   *bá*   *jí*
       NAME   3SG   come   eat
       'Ama came to eat'

SVCs in Dompo have the following general characteristics. Each of these is discussed in a subsection in more detail.

a. There are usually two verbs that can occur in an SVC without any overt marker of coordination. There are also a few instances where three verbs have occurred in a series without any overt coordinator. There are, however, some cases of SVCs in Dompo that have the serial connector *kán* preceding the second or third verb. Its main purpose may be to indicate the reason for the next event(s) described by the verb(s) that follow. (§8.4.1.1)

b. The verbs refer to a single event. (§8.4.1.2)

c. The verbs are not limited to SVCs but can occur independently in mono-verbal constructions. (§8.4.1.3)

d. The verbs share the same subject which occurs before the first verb. The pronominal form of the noun may be marked on the first verb as a person index marker. (§8.4.1.4)

e. They may either share the same object or have distinct objects they mark. (§8.4.1.5 and §8.4.1.6)

f. They share the same tense, mood and aspect. The aspect is marked on V_2. This is indicative of how aspect works in the language's morphology. (§8.4.1.7)

g. The verbs share negation which is marked once on V_1. (§8.4.1.8)

h. Some SVCs in Dompo fit the typologically common pattern of assymetrical SVCs (Aikhenvald 2006: 3) because one of the verbs, usually the first, is from the restricted class of motion verbs *bá* 'come' and *yɔ́/yá* 'go'. (§8.4.1.9).

8.4.1.1 Archetypical serial verb constructions in Dompo

One particular feature of SVCs in Dompo is the fact that there is the presence of the serial connector *kán* which seems to be used to indicate the purpose of doing something. This marker occurs before the second or third verb. In this sense, we can thus say that a subject carries out a particular action either for the benefit of another person or in order to do something. There is the absence of the serial connector in examples (40a and b), though it could be present as well. In examples (c and d), the serial connector is present. In these two examples, the sentences would be ungrammatical without it.

40a. *chèè*   *wá*   *kɛ̀ɛ́*   *pèsè*   *hǎ̃*   *Ámá*
       woman   DET   take   broom   give   NAME
       'The woman gave Ama a broom'

b. *Kòfí*   *nyá*   *ŋɔ̀srɛ́*   *tɔ́*   *bù*
     NAME   get   money   buy   house
     'Kofi got money and bought a house'

c. *Ámá*   *dǎ̃ŋ*   *jí-sɔ̀*   *kán*   *fɛ̃́*
     NAME   cook   eat-thing   SC   sell
     'Ama cooked food and sold it'

d. *é*   *hɔɔ̀*   *Gbàrèngò*   *kán*   *jì*
     1SG   receive   God   SC   eat
     'I have believed in God'[51]

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[51] This construction is like the Akan construction and might possibly be a calque from Akan.

Another way *kán* manifests itself is by the deletion of the first two sounds, leaving the last sound /n/. This sound is subsequently marked on the verb that follows and assimilates partially to take the place of articulation of the following sound (see. §2.9.2). This is illustrated in example (41) where instead of *kán* occurring in its full form and preceding *bá* 'come', its last sound /n/ is rather attached to the verb *bá* 'come'. /n/ subsequently changes its place of articulation from being alveolar to bilabial because of the initial bilabial sound /b/ of the verb *bá* 'come'. It has been observed that /n/ is a reduced form of *kán* because the speakers use either the whole word or the affixed form interchangeably. The situations or contexts in which they use either of these have not been established.

41. *Ámá* *kὲὲ* *jí-sɔ́* *wá* ***m****bá* *lànɔ̀*
   NAME take eat-thing DET SC-come home
   'Ama brings the food home'

8.4.1.2 *Verbs referring to a single event*

The individual verbs in an SVC contribute to express a single event or action. The verbs represent different phases or sub-parts of the event. This is illustrated in examples (42a and b) below. Thus, the act of fetching water represents a phase that entails one moving to do it. Similarly, in example (b), the man arriving at his home entailed moving to get there. In both instances, observe that both verbs have played an equal role in carrying out the overall actions of fetching water and arriving at the house.

42a. *Ámá* *yà^{52}* *sáá* *nsʉ̀*
   NAME go fetch water
   'Ama fetched water'

b. *nyìnὲ* *wá* *yà* *lùà* *mù* *lànɔ̀*
  man det go arrive 3SG house
  'The man arrived at his house'

In the examples below, the V$_1$s, *kàà* 'wake', *bà* 'come' and *kὲὲ* 'take', can be described as the minor verbs that aid the major verbs *yìlí* 'stand', *chìnà* 'sit' and *ŋá* 'put' to be conceptualized as one event. Thus, the main events to be carried out in the examples below are the acts of standing, sitting and putting down the chair. Dompo, as well as some Ghanaian languages such as Akan and Ewe, require that in putting down objects, one has to take the item by raising it first before putting it down. An item can therefore not be put down without taking it first. This is evident in example (43c).

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^{52} The verb 'to go' has been observed as having two forms in Dompo. They are *yɔ́* and *yá*. It has not been established how these two forms are used. It has, however, been observed that *yá* is mostly used to denote the present though in certain constructions it also expresses the past.

43a.   *kàà   yìlí*
      wake   stand
      'Stand up'

b.   *bà   chínà*
      come   sit
      'Sit down'

c.   *kɛ̀ɛ̀   kájá   wá   ŋà*
      take   chair   det   put
      'Put the chair down'

8.4.1.3 Verbs can function as independent verbs in simple clauses

Another feature of SVCs is that the verbs should be able to operate fully as independent verbs when they occur in mono-verbal constructions. The example in (44a) below shows the two verbs used together in a series. The subsequent examples in (b and c) illustrate the verbs used separately in different mono-verbal constructions.

44a.   *kàbìà   wá   bà   hɑ̌̃   mì   jí-sɔ́*
      child   DET   come   give   1SG   eat-thing
      'The child came to give me food'

b.   *kàbìà   wá   bà*
      child   DET   come
      'The child came'

c.   *kàbìà   wá   hɑ̌̃   mí   jísɔ́*
      child   DET   give   1SG   eat-thing
      'The child gave me food'

8.4.1.4 Subject sharing

The verbs in an SVC share the same subject. This may be in the form of a noun phrase, a proper name or a pronoun. These occur before the first verb. When the subject is a proper name or an NP, a pronominal form can optionally cross reference it on the V$_1$. In the examples below, either the proper name *Kòfí* or the NP *nyìnè wá* 'the man' can be present. In their absence, *è* '3SG' can equally function as the main subject. Just as is typical with some serializing languages that have the verbs sharing the same subject, and in which case the pronoun may be cross referenced only on the first verb, Dompo does not allow for the pronoun to be cross referenced on the second verb. This allowing of cross referencing only on the first verb is also good evidence for these as SVCs. The construction in example (c) is thus ungrammatical in the language. This is because of the presence of the 3SG pronoun *è* which is marked on the V$_2$. Observe the following examples.

45a.   *Kòfí   è   bà   dèhè*
      NAME   3SG   come   sleep
      'Kofi came to sleep'

b. | nyìnè | wá | è | dɔ́ɔ́ | ndɔ̀ɔ̀ | hǎ̀ | mú | níí |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| man | DET | 3SG | weed | farm | give | 3SG.POSS | mother |

'The man weeded the farm for his mother'

c. | *Ámá | è | tɔ́ | wùrà-sɔ̀ | è | hǎ̀ | mù | bí |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NAME | 3SG | buy | wear-thing | 3SG | give | 3SG.POSS | child |

'Lit. Ama she bought a dress (she) gave it to her child'

8.4.1.5 Object sharing

Some verbs may also share the same object just as they share the same subject in SVCs. The object occurs after the V₁ and often between the two verbs. The direct object may either be a beneficiary of an activity as is shown in example (46a), an instrument used to carry out V₂ in example (b) or a patient that undergoes the activity described by V₂ as is illustrated in examples (c) and (d). Notice in example (c) that when the object is animate, as we would have in *kàbìà wá* 'the child', its pronoun version is also marked and comes after the second verb. This, however, does not happen when the direct object is inanimate. Thus, in example (d), though the chicken may be thought of as animate, its meat that Kofi chewed is inanimate. The food that Ama prepared is also thought of as inanimate and its pronoun form is thus not expressed in example (e). Consider this in the examples below.

46a. | chèè | | wá | hǎ̀ | Kòfí | klà |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| woman | | DET | give | NAME | greet |

'The woman greeted Kofi'

b. | Ámá | kèè | kɛ̀ɛ̀-sɔ̀ | | wá | kán | kɛ́ɛ́ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NAME | take | write-thing | | DET | SC | write |

'Ama used a pen to write'

c. | Kòfí | trè | kàbìà | wá | kán | brì | mú |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NAME | call | child | DET | SC | beat | him |

'Kofi called the child and beat him'

d. | Kòfí | pìà | kòsì | kán | wé |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NAME | catch | fowl | SC | chew |

'Kofi caught the chicken and chewed it'

e. | Ámá | è | bɔ́ | jí-sɔ́ | | kán | jí |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NAME | 3SG | make | eat-thing | | SC | eat |

'Ama made food and ate'

A clause may contain an intransitive and a transitive verb. Both verbs may also share the same object as depicted in the example below.

47. | chèè | | wá | bà | kàn | brí | kàbìà | wá |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| woman | | DET | come | SC | beat | child | DET |

'The woman came and beat the child'

b. | Kòfí | yɔ̀ | kán | pìà | kòsì | wá |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NAME | go | SC | catch | fowl | DET |

'Kofi went and caught the fowl'

8.4.1.6   SVCs with distinct object markings

There are some SVCs where each verb has its own direct object. Observe this in example (48a) where the V$_1$ *hùlà* 'carry' has its own direct object *kájá wá* 'the chair. The motion verb *yɔ́* also occurs before its complement *bù rɔ́* 'in room'.

48a.	è	húlà	kájá	wá	kán	yɔ́	bù	rɔ́
	3SG	carry	chair	DET	SC	go	room	in

'He carried the chair into the room'

Similarly, in example (b) below, the V$_1$ *kéέ* 'take' precedes its direct object *táblò kàchà wá* 'the napkin'. The V$_2$ *bùù* 'cover' also has a direct object, *jísɔ́ wá* 'the food'.

b.	Ámá	è-n	kéέ	táblò	kàchà	wá	kán	bùù	jí-sɔ́	wá
	NAME	3SG-FUT	take	table	cloth	DET	SC	cover	eat-thing	DET

'Ama will cover the food with a napkin'

8.4.1.7   Tense-Aspect Marking

Past and present marking in Dompo is marked by tone rather than morphology (§2.6.3.2). Thus, the difference between the two constructions below is the tones on the verbs. In the example (a), the tones on both verbs are low and thus indicate that the action was carried out in the past. In (b), however, the tones on both verbs are high and thus indicate that the action is in the present.

49a.	Ámɔ̀	è	bà	bɔ̀	jí-sɔ́	kán	jí
	NAME	3SG	come	make	eat-thing	SC	eat

'Ama came to cook food to eat'

b.	Ámɔ́	è	bá	bɔ́	jísɔ́	kán	jí
	NAME	3SG	come	make	eat-thing	SC	eat

'Ama comes to prepare food to eat'

The future tense in SVCs in Dompo is marked once and on pronouns. These pronouns may co-reference either the subject proper name or the noun phrase. The future tense also occurs immediately before the V$_1$. The scope of the future marker is across both verbs in the SVC. This is shown in the examples below. If a pronoun occupies the subject position, the future tense is marked on it, as is illustrated in example (50c). Thus, SVCs in Dompo that have the subject being a proper name or a noun phrase must have an obligatory pronoun co-referencing the subject. This is because the future marker attaches to pronouns. Observe these features in the following examples.

50a.   *Ámá*   *è-n*   *bá*   *jí*
       NAME   3SG-FUT   come   eat
       'Ama will come to eat'

b.   *kàbìà*   *wá*   *è-n*   *nú*   *nyópo*   *kán*   *déhè*
       child   DET   3SG-FUT   drink   breast   SC   sleep
       'The child will suckle and sleep'

c.   *aní-n*   *píá*   *yùyrí-pò*   *kán*   *brì*   *mú*
       1PL-FUT   catch   steal-person   SC   beat   3SG
       'We will catch a thief and beat him'

The present progressive aspect in Dompo is marked by *káá* which is a preverbal marker. It is marked on V₂ and has scope over V₁ as well. In the examples below, the progressive marker comes before the V₂'s *yɔ́* 'go' and *jùl*à 'learn'. The high tones on the first verbs are also indicative that the actions are being carried out in the present. It can be observed that pronoun prefixes attach to V₁ while suffixes like *káá* 'PROG' attach to V₂. These together act as a single predicate and express one unitary action.

51a.   *é*   *kéé*   *ŋɔ̀sré*   *wá*   *káá*   *yɔ́*   *lànɔ̀*
       1SG   take   money   DET   PROG   go   house
       'I am taking the money home'

b.   *Kòfí*   *è*   *chíná*   *jùlà-kpà*   *káá*   *jùlá*   *sɔ́*
       NAME   3SG   sit   learn-place   PROG   learn   thing
       'Kofi is sitting in school learning'

c.   *chèè*   *wá*   *è*   *hlé*   *káá*   *yɔ́*   *sùkúú*
       girl   DET   3SG   run   PROG   go   school
       'The girl is running to school'

8.4.1.8   Negation Marking

The verbs in SVCs share negation. Apart from the future negative marker and the existential negative marker which are expressed as *mán* and *màà* respectively, all other forms of negative marking are done using the morpheme *mìn*. These negative markers occur before the V₁ and have scope over both verbs. Consider these in the examples that follow.

52a.   *Ámá*   *mìn*   *tɔ́*   *wùrà-sɔ̀*   *kán*   *hɑ̌̃*   *kàbìà*   *wá*
       NAME   NEG   buy   wear-thing   SC   give   chid   DET
       'Ama did not buy a dress for the child'

b.   *kàbìà*   *wá*   *mìn*   *bá*   *sáá*   *nsɨ̀̃*   *nfèè*
       child   DET   NEG   come   fetch   water   here
       'The child does not come to fetch water here'

c.   *ó*   *má-n*   *dɑ̀̃ŋ*   *blɑ̌̃*   *kán*   *wé*
       2SG   NEG.FUT   cook   meat   SC   chew
       'You will not cook meat to eat'

Whereas Dompo marks negation on only the first verb, Akan, for instance, marks negation on both verbs. Observe the following example in Akan.

Akan (Osam 2003: 19)

53a.	Araba	à-ǹ-tɔ́		mpɛtsea	à-m̀-má		abɔfra	no
	Araba	COMPL-NEG-buy		ring	COMPL-NEG-give		child	DEF

'Araba did not buy a ring for the child'

8.4.1.9 Assymetrical directional marking

Directional verbs are used in narratives in Dompo. *bá* 'come' and *yɔ́* 'go' are motion verbs used to mark movement in SVCs. This places Dompo serial verbs in a class Aikhenvald (2006: 3) classifies as assymetrical where one of the verbs in an SVC is from a grammatically or semantically restricted class (motion or posture verbs). Observe the example below.

54a.	*'sèpè*	*mù*	*kó*	*è*	*pó*	*mù*		*ká*	*nè*
	ear	3SG	REL	3SG	marry	3SG.POSS		wife	CONJ

	kápnǐ́		*bá*	*lèè*	*mú.*
	mosquito		come	like	3SG'

'The ear married his wife and mosquito liked her.'

(doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_some folktales and idioms_ # 10)

The motion verbs occupy the V_1 slot and serve to provide additional information as to how V_2 occurred. Thus, in instances where motion verbs occupy the V_1 slot, the V_2 was effectively carried out because there first had to be a motion verb expressing direction. In the folktale narrative in the examples (54a) above, the motion verb *bá* 'come' occurs as V_1. In this instance, we observe that for the meaning of the V_2 to be better understood, *bá* 'come' has to be present. Thus, to like someone, one first has to come close to the person. Consider the following examples as well.

b.	*'gɔ́ŋgrɔ́*	*mù*	*kó*	*è*	*kwíí*	*mù*		*káwí*	*nè*
	chameleon	3SG	REL	3SG	cut	3SG.POSS		village	CONJ

	sló		*bá*	*chìnà*	*mù*		*kèlɔ́'*
	elephant		come	sit	3SG.POSS		side

'Chameleon built his village and elephant came to live beside him'

(doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_some folktales and idioms_ # 11)

Similarly, in example (b), for one to live beside another person, one first has to move from a place to the desired destination. Thus, in the second clause, *bá* 'come' occupies V_1 while *chìnà* 'sit' occupies V_2.

8.4.2 Functions of SVCs in Dompo

This section discusses some functions of SVCs in Dompo. They include manipulative, directional, benefactive, comparative, posture and completive SVCs.

8.4.2.1 Manipulative SVCs

Some SVCs require the V_1 to be occupied by the manipulative verb *kéé* 'take'. Ameka (2006: 135) uses the term "handling verb" to refer to the verbs take, raise and use in Ewe. The main function of V_1 is to describe the process of action carried out by V_2. The noun phrase complement of the handling verb could either be a theme which undergoes a particular action or an instrument which is used to carry out a particular action. In example (55a), the complement of the verb, *wùlò wá* 'the book', which is also the theme, changes location from being taken from its original location to being taken to the house. In example (b), the object instrument, *kɛ̀ɛ̀ sɔ̀* 'pen' is used to carry out the act of writing by Ámá. In example (c), anger is personified as an object that is taken away. In the story, we are told of how there was disunity in the termites' kingdom and how they were unwilling to cooperate with each other.

55a.	*é*	*kéé*	*wùlò*	*wá*	*káá*	*yɔ́*	*lánɔ̀*
	1SG	take	book	DET	PROG	go	home

'I am taking the book home'

b.	*Ámá*	*kéé*	*kɛ̀ɛ̀-sɔ̀*		*káá*	*kɛ́ɛ́*
	name	take	write-thing		PROG	write

'Ama is using a pen to write'

c.	'*nɛ́*	*bì*	*kéé*	*gbó*	*kán*	*yɔ́,*	*kàbò*	*dìa*	*è-n*
	COND	3PL	take	anger	SC	go	place	DEM	3SG.FUT

nywàlɛ́		*à?*
good		Q

'If you get angry and leave, will this place be good'?

(doy_20161122_42_EDD_KMNSADKNANAK_more folktales and idioms_cont # 59)

8.4.2.2 Directional SVCs

The motion verbs *bá* 'come' and *yɔ́* 'go' can also combine with other verbs of direction to describe the manner in which the agent arrived at a particular location. When *bá* and *yɔ́* occur in V_1 position, as illustrated in (§8.4.1.9) they serve as motion verbs and could be omitted. The sentences they occur in still maintain their underlying concept. The motion verbs in the examples below are mandatory and show the manner in which an action was done in order for the subject to reach its destination. The other verbs of direction discussed in this section occur in V_1 slot while *bá* 'come' and *yɔ́* 'go' occur in the V_2 slot in the examples below. When they occupy the V_2 position, as is illustrated below, they cannot be omitted. Essentially, while *bá* 'come' and *yɔ́* 'go'

serve as the motion verbs in (§8.4.1.9), they are used in this section as directional verbs. The verbs *nààré* 'walk' and *wélé* 'crawl' serve as motion verbs.

56a. *kàbìà* *wá* *nààré* *kán* *yɔ́* *nfèè nɔ́*
     child   DET   walk   SC   go   DISTAL. there
     'The child walked there'

b. *kàbìà* *wá* *è* *wélé* *nè̀* *mù* *bá* *nfèè*
    child   DET   3SG   crawl   CONJ   3SG   come   PROX. here
    'The child crawled to come here'

8.4.2.3 Benefactive SVCs

Benefactive verbs occur as the V$_2$ in an SVC. The verb *hɑ̌́* 'give' is the marker used to indicate the benefactive function in Dompo. It is used alongside the initial verb of either doing, taking or buying something for the benefit of the recipient. Some verbs that can occupy the V$_1$ position include *sàà* 'fetch', *dɑ̌́ŋ* 'cook', *kɛ́ɛ́* 'take', *tɔ̀* 'buy' and *dɔ̀ɔ̀* 'weed'. These verbs indicate the performance of an action for the benefit of the object of the verb *hɑ̌́* 'give'. The recipient of the action comes after the benefactive verb *hɑ̌́*. Observe the following examples.

57a. *'chèè* *kó* *nà.* *è* *kúrè* *mù* *bí.*
     woman   INDEF   FOC   3SG   bear   3SG   child

     kó *è* *kúrè* *mù* *bí* *wá,* *nè̀*
     REL   3SG   bear   3SG   child   DET   CONJ

     è *kɛ́ɛ́* *mú* *hɑ̌́* *nyìnè* *kó'*
     3SG   take   3SG   give   man   INDEF

     'A certain woman bore a child. When she bore the child, she gave her to a certain man'

     (doy_20161122_42_EDD_KMNSADKNANAK_more folktales and idioms_cont # 53)

b. *Ámá* *tɔ̀* *kàchà* *kán* *hɑ̀̌* *mú* *níí*
    Ama   buy   cloth   SC   give   3SG.POSS   mother
    'Ama bought a cloth for her mother'

c. *m-bìà* *áná* *sàà* *nsù̀* *kán* *hɑ̀̌* *mí*
    PL-child   QUANT   fetch   water   SC   give   1SG
    'The children fetced water for me'

In examples (57a) above, *nyìnè kó* 'a man' is the beneficiary of the action of the giving done by *chèè kó* 'a woman'. Similarly, *mú níí* 'her mother' referring to Ama's mother and *mí* '1SG' in examples (b and c) respectively are the direct beneficiaries of the actions of buying and fetching.

8.4.2.4 Comparative SVCs

The verb *chò* 'pass' is used to express comparison in Dompo. Ameka (2006: 136) also records that Ewe makes use of the motion verb *tó* 'pass' to express comparison. *chò* always attaches to the serial connector *kán* to read *kán chò*. The pair occurs in the V$_2$ position to convey the meaning of

comparison between two entities. When *chò* is not used as a comparative verb, it is used as a motion verb, in which sense it occurs alone without the marker *kán*. Consider its usage first as a motion verb in example (58a) and then as a comparative verb in (b-d).

58a. *è   chó   bwàrè   wá   rɔ́*
      3SG   pass   rain   DET   in
      'He passed through the rain'

b.   *Ámá   è   mátá   mí   wó   kán   chò   Kòfí*
      NAME   3SG   attach 1SG   on   SC   pass   NAME
      'Ama is closer to me than Kwame'

c.   *Kòfí   è   bɔ́   mlá-mlá   kán   chò   Ámá*
      NAME   3SG   make   quick-RED   SC   pass   NAME
      'Kofi is quicker than Ama'

d.   *nyìnɛ   wá   wɔ̀   ŋɔ̀sré   kán   chò   chèè   wá*
      man   DET   be at   money   SC   pass   woman   DET
      'The man is richer than the woman'

In the examples above, the V₁s *mátá* 'attach', *bɔ́* 'make' and *wɔ̀* 'have' are used to describe location, quality and possession/location respectively. *mátá*, a locative verb, is conceptualized in this instance to depict that Ama is more attached on the skin of the speaker than Kofi. *bɔ́* 'make' describes the property of quickness that Kofi exhibits that exceeds that of Ama. Lastly, *wɔ̀* 'be. at' which is also a locative marker is used in this instance as a marker of possession to indicate that the man possesses more money than the woman.

8.4.2.5 Causative SVCs

The causative verb *yí* 'let/make' is used in the V₁ position. The verb that occupies the V₂ position describes the result or effect the causative verb has on the object of V₁. This verb is usually the last element in the sentence. The following examples illustrate this.

59a. *Ámá   yí   nɛ̀   kálɔ́   wá   bùrè*
      NAME   let   CONJ   pot   DET   break
      'Ama made the pot break'

b   *Kòfí   yí   nɛ̀   Ámá   bùrè   kálɔ́   wá*
      NAME   let   CONJ   NAME   break   pot   DET
      'Kofi made Ama break the pot'

c.   *nyìnɛ̀   wá   yí   nɛ̀   dèè   wá   dũ̀ŋ*
      man   DET   let   CONJ   fire   DET   extinquish
      'The man made the fire extinquish'

In example (59a) above, Ama, the agent of the action, causes the pot to break. Similarly, Kofi is the agent that causes Ama to break the pot in example (b) while the man causes the fire to extinguish in examples (c).

8.4.2.6 *Resultative SVCs*

Resultative SVCs involve a V_1, and through its action, the situation expressed by V_2 is made manifest. In examples (60a), notice that it is through the action of drinking that the resultative effects of the man getting drunk and subsequently beating his wife unfold. Similarly, in example (b), the child's throwing of the bowl results in it breaking. The 3SG object pronoun *mú* is obligatory in the sentence. Its absence renders the construction ungrammatical.

60a.
è	*nù*	*nsǜnyà*	*kan*	*bóó*	*kán*	*brí*	*mù*	*ká*
3SG	drink	alcohol	SC	drunk	SC	beat	3SG.POSS	wife

'He drank alcohol, became drunk and beat his wife'

b.
kàbìà	*wá*	*tòò*	*lèpè*	*wá*	*kán*	*bùrè*	*mú*
child	DET	throw	bowl	DET	SC	break	3SG

'The child threw the bowl and broke it'

8.4.2.7 *Completive SVCs*

Completive SVCs have the verb *lùè* 'finish' occupying the V_2 position in a sentence. The V_1 describes the action carried out by the subject of the sentence. In the examples below, the completive verb *lùè,* whose position can be described as reflective of its role, brings to an end the acts of eating and washing, as carried out by the speaker and Kofi respectively. The serial connector *kán* is optional in example (61a).

61a.
é	*jí*	*jí-sɔ́*	*lùè*
1SG	eat	eat-thing	finish

'I have finished eating'

b.
Kòfí	*frò*	*sɔ́*	*áná*	*kán*	*lùè*
NAME	wash	thing	QUANT	SC	finish

'Kofi finished washing the things'

8.5 *SVCs with interrogatives and focus*

It is possible for the component arguments in an SVC to be questioned and also focused separately in Dompo. The following sections will discuss how these are done.

8.5.1 *Argument questioning*

The various arguments in an SVC can be questioned using the various interrogative markers in Dompo (cf §5.4.2). The question markers may vary in position as can be seen in the examples below. In examples (b-d), the noun phrase arguments Kòfí, *jísɔ́* 'food' and Ámá can be questioned independently by using the content question markers *mnɛ́* 'who, what'. Observe these in the following examples.

62a.
Kòfí	tɔ̀	jí-sɔ́		kán	hǎ̌	Ámá
NAME	buy	eat-thing		SC	give	NAME

‘Kofi bought food for Ama’

b.
mnέ	kó	è	tɔ́	jí-sɔ́		kán	hǎ̌	Ámá
who	FOC	3SG	buy	eat-thing		SC	give	NAME

‘Who bought food for Ama?’

c.
sɔ́	mnέ	Kòfí	tɔ̀	kán	hǎ̌	Ámá
thing	what	NAME	buy	SC	give	Ama

‘What thing did Kofi buy for Ama?’

d.
shìà	mnέ	Kòfí	tɔ̀	sɔ́	kán	hǎ̌
person	who	NAME	buy	thing	SC	give

‘Who did Kofi buy food for?’

In the above examples, the arguments being questioned are fronted. *mnέ* ‘who’, *sɔ́* ‘thing’ and *shìà* ‘person’ are the questioned arguments. The question marker occurs before the focus marker *kó* in example (b). The question will be ungrammatical if the focus marker was fronted. The question marker however occurs after the arguments *sɔ́* ‘thing’ and *shìà* ‘person’ in examples (c and d). A grammatical response to any of the questions above will be one which comprises both verbs. An answer to the question in example (62b) must be what is exemplified in (63a) below. The use of *kó* in these instances serves to focus the subject Kofi and to emphasize that he is the one who performed the action described by the verb. Examples (b and c) below are ungrammatical because the former lacks the V$_2$ while the latter lacks the V$_1$.

63a.
Kofi	mù	kó	è	tɔ́	jí-sɔ́		kan	hǎ̀	Ama
NAME	3SG	FOC	3SG	buy	eat-thing		SC	give	NAME

‘Kofi bought food for Ama’

b.
*Kòfí	mù	kó	è	tɔ́
NAME	3SG	FOC	3SG	buy

‘Kofi bought’

c.
*Kòfí	mù	kó	è	kán	hǎ̌	Ámá
NAME	3SG	FOC	3SG	SC	give	NAME

‘Kofi gave’

8.5.2   Argument focus

Each argument in an SVC in Dompo can be focused by fronting it in the initial position. In the examples (64b-d) below, the constituent arguments of agent, theme and goal are focused from the construction in (64a). The relativizer *kó* serves as the focus marker which focuses the subject, Ama in example (64b). The direct object of the clause in example (64a) *nsʉ̌* ‘water’ is focused in (64c). The focus marker, *nè* which may be a variant of the focus marker *nà* (see §6.4.5), is used to focus both the object *nsʉ̌* ‘water’ and goal *bɔ́ndɔ́* ‘well’ in (64c and d) respectively.

64a. *Ámá   yà   sáá   nsɨ̀   bɔ́ndɔ́   wá*
      NAME   go   fetch   water   well   DET
      'Ama went to fetch water at the well'

      Subject (Agent)

b.   *Ámá   kó   è   yá   sáá   nsɨ̀   bɔ́ndɔ́   wá*
      NAME   FOC   3SG   go   fetch   water   well   DET
      'AMA goes to fetch water at the well'

      Object (Theme)

c.   *nsɨ̀   (mù)   nὲ   Ámá   yà   sáá   bɔ́ndɔ́   wá*
      WATER   3SG   FOC   NAME   go   fetch   well   DET
      'Ama goes to fetch WATER at the well'

      Goal (Location)

d.   *bɔ́ndɔ́   (mu)   nὲ   Ámá   yà   sáá   nsɨ̀*
      WELL   3SG   FOC   Ama   go   fetch   water
      'Ama goes to fetch water at THE WELL'

8.5.2.1   *Predicate focus*

It is also possible to focus the verbs in an SVC. This is done by fronting the bare form of the verbs to the initial position. The verbs can be focused one at a time. Example (65a) illustrates the basic sentence from which the predicates that are fronted in (b and c) are extracted. In example (b) we notice that it is the verb *yɔ́* 'go' that is focused and its allomorph *yá* 'go' occurs before the next predicate. Similarly, in example (c), *tɔ́* 'buy' is focused while the V$_2$ is the verb *yá* 'go'.

65a. *Ámá   è-n   yá   tɔ́   jí-sɔ́*
      NAME   3SG-FUT   go   buy   eat-thing
      'Ama will go and buy food'

b.   *yɔ́   nὲ   Ámá   è-n   yá   tɔ̀   jí-sɔ́*
      go   FOC   NAME   3SG-FUT   go   buy   eat-thing
      'Ama will GO and buy food'

c.   *tɔ́   nὲ   Ámá   è-n   yá   tɔ̀   jí-sɔ́*
      buy   FOC   NAME   3SG-FUT   go   buy   eat-food
      'Ama will go and BUY food'

Chapter 9:   CONCLUSION

9.1 Introduction

This thesis has provided an introduction to the Dompo language, spoken in the North-Western part of the Bono Region of Ghana. While Dompo is a hitherto unwritten language, this research has presented a detailed documentation of the various grammatical aspects of the language. An orthography, which builds on the ones used in Painter (1967), Cansdale (1970) and Blench (2007), has been created and used in the writing of this thesis. The orthography is phonemic, based on the inventories expressed in IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) in (§2. 2. and §2. 5.). Where possible, Roman symbols are adopted rather than IPA.

Dompo is one of the critically endangered languages in Ghana. There are only about six remaining speakers with a few others who have limited proficiency of the language. This latter class of people remember some words and some few basic sentences and can sing some songs in Dompo — songs that have been passed down to them but which they cannot interpret. This research work was carried out with input from four of the six remaining speakers.

This concluding chapter presents a summary of the various subject areas discussed in the eight chapters of the thesis in (§9.2). The chapter then returns to the question, rasied in chapter 1, of Dompo's status as a linguistic isolate. Cross-linguistic comparisons are made with other languages that have been described in earlier literature as being related to Dompo, particularly the North Guang languages, within the Kwa language group. This is discussed in (§9.3). These comparisons establish that Dompo should not be treated as an isolate but is more likely a part of the North-Guang language family. The chapter ends with a final section on the limitations of the study and some recommendations in (§9.4).

9.2 Summary

The thesis began with a general introduction to the language. Other topics discussed in this chapter included the history, religious and cultural practices of the speakers and their geographical location. Dompo's genetic affiliation to other related languages, the linguistic situation, the factors that had led to the endangerment of the language and some measures that have been put in place to sustain the language were also discussed. The objectives of the thesis were additionally outlined in this chapter.

Chapter two concentrated on the phonology of Dompo. It established that Dompo has a nine phonemically distinct vowel system including two unadvanced high vowels /ɪ/ and /ʊ/. Nasalization and long vowels are phonemic in the language. Some syllable structural processes including assimilation, deletion and insertion were investigated. It was revealed that in connected

speech, the vowel sounds that are regularly deleted are /u and ɪ/. The initial consonant sounds /y/ and /m/ are also deleted when they occur in certain contexts. The most frequently inserted sound in the syllable is the segment /n/. Dompo exhibits a 27-consonant system at 8 places of articulation. There was no record of the voiced fricatives /v/ and /z/. As a register tone language, Dompo has basic level tones which manifest to distinguish both lexical and grammatical differences in words and sentences. The dominant syllable type in the language is CV; other syllable types include CCV, V and CVC.

Chapter three focused on nouns, noun phrases and nominal modifiers. The word classes of nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, determiners and postpositions are present in the language. The language does not have a rich noun class system but exhibits a small number of prefixes that operate as noun class markers. Noun types, pronouns and types of noun phrases are further elaborated on in the chapter. Like in most Kwa languages, including the North Guang languages, and unlike in English, nominal modifiers occur postnominally in the language.

Chapter four concentrated on verbs and verbal modifiers. The structure of the verb and the semantic features of Dompo verbs were explored. Tense, aspect and mode markings were further discussed. Negation in tenses was also treated here. Sentence types and functions were treated in chapter five. The three sentence types — declaratives, imperatives and interrogatives — and how they manifest using elicited examples were tackled in this chapter. Focus clause constructions were also examined. Chapter six explored three paralinguistic forms — ideophones, interjections and particles. Discussed in detail in this chapter were the topics of linguistic features of ideophones, classifications of interjections and five utterance final particles. Routine expressions, such as greetings, expressions of gratitude, congratulations and sympathy were also dealt with in this chapter. Chapter seven highlighted the basic clause structure, clause types and basic locative constructions in the language. The language manifests an SVO sentence structure. It is a largely isolating language, which can be seen in the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses presented throughout the grammar. Other topics in this chapter were copula clauses, verbless clauses, existential locative and possessive constructions. Finally, locative clause constructions were explored in this chapter. Chapter eight dealt with clause structures including relative clauses, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, coordinate clause constructions and serial verb constructions which formed part of the clause combinations in the language. In the appendix of the thesis is a corpus of written materials from the fieldwork for this thesis, which largely focuses on folktales. There is also a Dompo-English wordlist provided as an appendix.

This section discusses some features exhibited by Dompo that either do or do not align with features in the language group it has been opined to be part of.

9.3 Features of Dompo that may suggest its genetic affiliation

As discussed in (§1. 7.), there is no definitely established agreement concerning which language group Dompo belongs. The language is widely believed to be an isolate (Blench 2007; Dimmendaal 2011). There is also an argument that Dompo is closely related to Gonja and therefore belongs to the North-Guang language family (Painter 1967; Blench 2007). Dolphyne & Dakubu (2015) have also suggested that the language is a variety of Gonja. This research however believes that Dompo should be treated as part of the North-Guang language group and not as an isolate. The following are the reasons for making this claim.

In the area of Dompo's phonology, with reference to vowels (§2. 2.), this study has established that Dompo has nine phonemic oral vowels. Chumburung (Snider 1984: 49) and Nkonya (Peacock 2007: 3), also North-Guang languages, exhibit a nine-vowel system, with the same vowels as found in Dompo. This, however, contrasts with the seven phonemic vowel system found in some Guang languages, Gonja and Gichode (Painter 1970; Dolphyne & Dakubu 2015). This nine-vowel system is also exhibited by the majority of the Central Comoé or Tano languages, which together with Guang languages form part of the larger Volta-Comoé language group. Guang and Volta-Comoé languages are further part of the Kwa branch of Niger-Congo languages (see Dolphyne & Dakubu 2015). The areal languages, Jogo, a dialect of Ligbi, and Nafaanra, which the Dompo speakers are in contact with, also exhibit different vowel systems. While Persson & Persson (1980) record a seven-vowel system for Ligbi, Williams (2018: 38) records a nine-vowel system for Jogo, a dialect of Ligbi. Nafaanra also shows a seven-vowel system (Jordan 1980: 8).

Among the varying consonant systems portrayed in Guang languages, it seems the sounds /v/ and /z/ are not found in the consonant systems (Dolphyne & Dakubu 2015: 81). These voiced sounds are, however, found in Nafaanra (Jordan 1989: 8). Jogo has the voiced sound /z/ but not /v/ (Williams 2018: 50). This is more evidence of a North-Guang connection. Dolphyne & Dakubu further describe all Guang languages as being terraced level languages which exhibit either two or three tones. This also falls in line with the two basic tonal system identified in Dompo.

There are some lexical similarities that Dompo and some North-Guang languages exhibit that make them look similar. (**Table 18**) contains words that appear to indicate that Dompo is similar to other Guang languages. Establishing sound correspondences which would enable us to call the Dompo words in (**Table 18**) cognates of North-Guang is beyond the scope of this study, but nevertheless suggests a connection between Dompo and other North-Guang languages. That is why Dompo is consequently not being treated as an isolate in this thesis.

There are, however, also some Dompo words that do not exhibit any similarities with the other Guang languages, some of which are listed in (**Table 19**).

English	Dompo[53]	Gonja[54]	Chumburung[55]	Nawuri	Gichode
mouth	ká-nú	kɔ́ -nɔ́	ká -nɔ́	gɔ́ -nɔ́	gɔ́ -nɔ́
head	ŋù	kù-mú	kù-ŋú	gù-mú	gù-mú
breast	nyópó	kí-ɲápɔ̂ (kí-nyí-pò)	kí-ɲápɔ̂	gɨ́- ɲápɔ̂	gɨ́-ɲábɔ̂
tooth	nyí	kí-ɲí	kɨ-bʷanɔ	gɨ́-ɲí	gɨ́-ɲí
sore	lɔ́	ɛ-lɔ́	lɔ́	ɔ-lɔ́	ɔ-lɔ́
back	ká-mɛ́	kà-mánʔ	kà-mɛ́ʔ	gà-má:ʔ	gà-márá:ʔ
urine	bùŋflɔ́	ŋ-gbɔŋfɔlʔ	m-burufo	m-bulifo	m-buli
man	nyìnɛ̀	ɛ̀-ɲínʔ (è-nyɛ́n)	ɔ̀-ɲárí	ɔ̀-ɲíŋ	ɔ̀-ɲáŋ
woman	chèè	è-číʔ	ɔ̀- číʔ	ɔ̀- čí:ʔ	ɔ̀- čí:ʔ
child	kà-bìà	kɜ̀-bíyâ (é-bí)	kà-yàjí	gə-bi:ʔ	gə-bi:ʔ
wind	á-fúú	á-fúʔ	á-fʷíʔ	á-fú:ʔ	á-fú:ʔ
farmer	dɔ́ɔ́pó	ɛ-dɔpɔ	ɔ-dɔpʊ	è-dɔpʊ	dɔ:bɔ
weaver	lômpò	è-lúpó (à-ló-pò)	ɔ̀-lópʊ́	ɔ̀-lópʊ́	ɔ̀-lóbɔ̀
hunter	pámpó	ɛ́-kpámpɔ́ (è-kpàm-pò)	ɔ́-kpámpʊ́	ɔ́-kpámpʊ́	jàmbwɛ́
bat	kɔ́ŋkɔ́	kɔ́ŋkɔ̀	jòkʷɔ̀rì	kòŋkóŋ	gì-jàkpádɛ́
frog	pló	pùló	—	pùló	—
bark	jɔ́fwɛ́	kì-jàfɔ́	kɨ-jàfʊ́	gì-jàfʷá	gì-jàfʷɛ̀
wine/ liquor	n-sà	ń-sá	ń-tá	ń-tá	ń-tá
life	ŋ-kpà	ŋ̀-kpá	ŋ̀m-kpá	ŋ̀m-kpá	ŋ̀m-kpá
stranger	fɔ́	ɛ-fɔ́	ɔ́-fɔ	ɔ́-fɔ́	—
new	pópró	pʊpɔrʔ	pʊpʷɛʔ	gi-pʊpwɛ:ʔ	pʊbɔrɔ:ʔ
we	à-ní	à-ɲí	à-ní	à-nɛ̀	à-yɛ̀
he	mù	mʊ	mʊ	mʊ	mɔ

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[53] Except for the Dompo words that have been provided by me, all the other words are sourced from Snider (1989).

[54] The Gonja examples in brackets are taken from Painter (1970).

[55] Some slots with the dash (—) indicate that the words are not similar to the Dompo words.

and	nὲ	nὲ	nɪ	nɪ:ʔ	dɛ:
sleep	dí/dèhè	dì	dìdí	da	—
cough	wásá	wòsá	wòrí	wɔtɛ:ʔ	wɔda
drink	nû	nù?	nù?	nu:?	nuŋ
bite	dúŋ	dùŋ	dúŋ	dúŋ	dúŋ
breathe	fótè	fòtí	fʷiŋe	fòtá	sɔŋga
dream	kúdàré	ɛ-darɪ	ku	kwɔ ide:?	ku odɨri
ear	sèpè	kù-sɔ́	kì-sìbɔ́	gò-sɔ́	gò-sɔ́
leaf	nfànà	kɪ-fantaŋ	kɪ-fɾaʔ	gɪ-fatɛ:?	gɪ-fada:?

Table 18. Table containing 30 words showing similarity to words in some North-Guang languages.

There are, however, also some basic Dompo words that do not exhibit any similarities with the other Guang languages, some of which are listed in (**Table 19**) below.

English	Dompo	Gonja	Chumburung	Nawuri	Gichode
face	nyììrɔ́	à-nìšító	à-kàtɔ̀rɔ́	à-ńsítɔ̂	à-ńsìdɔ̂
chin	káyέ	kʊ́-tʊ́l?	kù-nòkʷí?	gà-da:?	gà-da:?
throat	blŏntònɔ̀	kɪ-lantor?	kɪ-buri čikpɨŋ	gu-wuruwuri	o-wuruwuri
waist	sré	ka-šir?	la:rɪ	gʌ-sɛ:?	ga-sara:?
elephant	sló	jɛbʊtɪ	kʊnnɪ	kʊnta	kʊndɛ
rat	kòòrè	šubʷi	kpa:si	kpa:si	ča:ga
cotton	kúràné	kɨ-tebi	i-suri?	gɨ-tebi	o-kʰrufe

Table 19. Table containing words showing dissimilarity to words in some North-Guang languages.

Judging from the retention of the noun class prefixes in the other Guang languages in (**Table 18**) above, it can be suggested that Dompo seems to have lost some of its noun class prefixes. As indicated in (§3. 4. 4.), the only vowel that serves as a prefix on a few Dompo nouns is *a-*. In the words from the other languages shown above, however, notice that the V- prefix slot can be occupied by other vowels such as /ɛ/, /e/ and /ɔ/. It can also be noticed that in some words where the prefix markers *ku-/gu-* and *ki-/gi-* are present, these markers are absent in Dompo. Snider (1988; 1989b) has suggested that these noun class prefixes that are still present in the other Guang languages were features of the proto-Guang language group. Thus, if Dompo is indeed a North Guang language, then these few wordlists in tables (**Table 18** and **Table 19**) above suggest that

these prefixes may have been lost. The remaining prefixes found in Dompo such as *ka-*, *a-*, *n-* and *ny-* align with the noun class prefixes in most Guang languages. Additionally, the similarities in the words shown above, especially between Dompo and Gonja, strongly suggest that the two languages are related and that Dompo could possibly be part of the North-Guang language family.

Another evidence that might suggest that Dompo has lost some of its noun class prefixes is that the chief, Nana Shiembor Agba II told me that the Dompo's referred to themselves and were also referred to, by the other neighbouring communities as *Kàdòmpò*. Overtime, the *ka-* prefix was dropped and they were referred to as Dompo. Also, in one of the folktale narrations found in the appendix, Madam Afua Nimena referred to the body part, hand, as *kàhàlé* (story no. 5 in §1. 10.). This was the only time the word occurred with the prefix. None of the other consultants said the word with the prefix in all our sessions. Though *ka-* is still used as a prefix on certain nouns (§3. 4. 1.), the above described instances show that Dompo might have over the years, lost some noun prefixes.

Dolphyne & Dakubu (2015: 83) also note that some Guang languages use a 3SG subject pronoun or a subject agreement prefix which follows a noun subject. This also occurs extensively in Dompo and suggests its connection with the North-Guang and other Kwa languages. This thus contrasts with the suggestion that Dompo is an isolate. Observe the examples from Nkonya and their equivalents in Dompo below.

Nkonya (Dolphyne & Dakubu 2015: 83)

1a. *abrewa ɔ yɔ*   'the old woman (she) went'

b. *abatebi be dyi*   'the chickens (they) ate'

c. *ɛlɔ kolɛ i tsi*   'one pot (it) burned'

Dompo

2a. *chèè   núm   wá   è   yɔ́*
     woman old   DET   3SG   go
     'The old woman (she) went'

b. *kòsì   áná   bì   jí*
     chick   QUANT 3PL   eat
     'The chickens (they) ate

c. *kápwέ kòólè   è   chɔ́ɔ́*
     pot   one   3SG   burn
     'One pot (it) burned'

In the examples above, the Nkonya examples in examples (1a-c) align with the Dompo examples in (2a-c). The underlined pronouns *ɔ* '3SG', *be* '3PL' and *i* '3SG INAN' in Nkonya aligns with the pronoun subjects *è* '3SG', *bì* '3PL' and *è* '3SG' in Dompo. This also shows the relationship between Dompo and some North Guang languages with respect to its morphology. Dolphyne & Dakubu further assert that features of the verb are expressed by the use of prefixes or pre-verb

particles in all Guang languages. They opine that negation is expressed by using a prefix which consists of *m* plus a vowel which is usually *a*. This prefix combination occurs before the tense/aspect markers. Dompo also has the negation form *mà/màà*.

The above section has examined some linguistic features that Dompo has in common with some North-Guang languages. These features indicate that Dompo should not be definitely classified as an isolate since it has similarities with the North-Guang language family in the sound system, lexicon and grammar. This is only a provisional conclusion. Further comparative studies are needed to provide a stronger basis for classifying it as a part of the North-Guang group. The data in this thesis provides a strong basis for Dompo, but more data is needed from other North-Guang languages in order to complete an extensive comparison.

A social evidence that could account for the relatedness of Dompo to the North Guang languages is provided in the map in (**Figure 11**) below. The map shows the distribution of Guang languages in Ghana and in some neighbouring countries. It shows that Dompo is not too far apart from the other Guang languages. The chief of Dompofie, Nana Shiembor Agba II had opined during my second field work in July 2018 that he believed that Dompo could be related to Gonja. His reason was that he remembered that from the region Dompo is spoken in, all the way to a part of the Northern Region where Gonja is spoken, used to be a part of one large area. The whole area was, however, demarcated into separate regions by Ghana's first president Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. I have however not been able to ascertain whether this information is true or not, warranting much more systematic study.
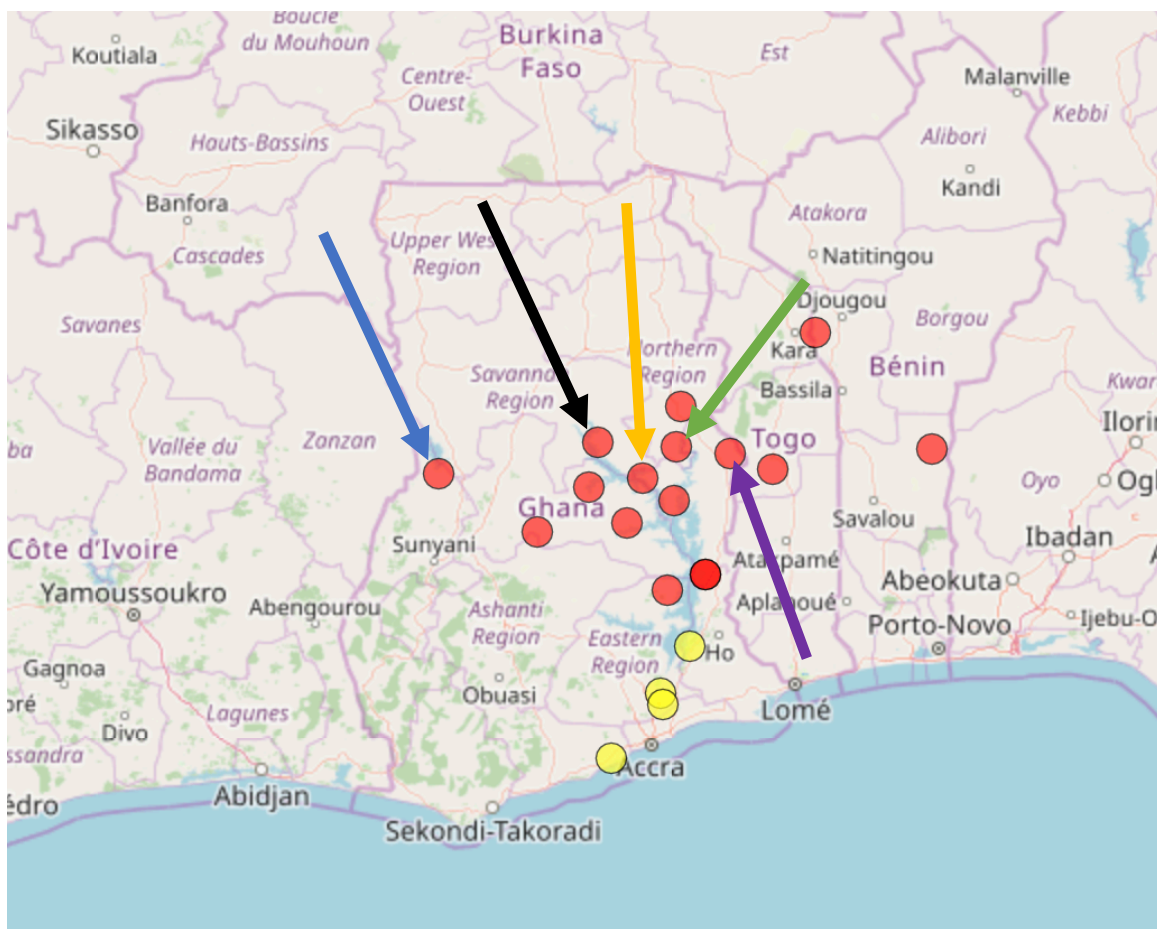
Figure 11. Map[56] showing the Guang languages in red spots and their distribution[57]

9.4 Limitations and recommendations

While the documentary work that has culminated into the writing of this grammar has been successful, some few limitations must be noted. Firstly, as acknowledged in the introduction of this chapter, only four speakers of Dompo were involved in this descriptive work. The small number of speakers is not ideal for gaining the broadest level of documentation, but the small speaker population demonstrates that this work was urgent so that the grammar of Dompo could be documented. This documentation work was also necessary because it is important to gain more evidence to ascertain the status of the language. It is also important so the speakers could have materials to commence revitalization (now or in the future). This thus influenced my choices in collecting data comprising cultural events such as naming practices, semantics of verbs and use of SVCs in narratives because these will be important for the speakers.

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[56] http://glottolog.org/resource/languoid/id/guan1278, Accessed on 2020-04-06
[57] **Blue** arrow represents **Dompo**.
Black arrow indicates **Gonja**.
Orange arrow shows **Chumburung**
Green arrow represents **Nawuri**
Purple arrow indicates **Gichode**

Another limitation identified has to do with some points of contention between the speakers. Where there were any of such, they were pointed out in the sections that required them to be noted. Though the language barrier sometimes made it challenging to fully grasp concepts and immediately translate into Dompo, one thing that should be appreciated about the speakers was their prompt attention to detail in not allowing Nafaanra words into this description of Dompo.

Since I do not speak Nafaanra and my competency level in Dompo is not of the highest side, I hope their caution is reflected in this grammar.

Another limitation of the study has to do with establishing whether Dompo is truly an isolate as has been propagated (Blench 2007; Dimmendaal 2011) or it belongs to the Guang language family as asserted by Painter (1967). Though this thesis does not come out with conclusive evidence to resolve which language family Dompo belongs to, I believe Dompo should not be classified as an isolate due to the issues raised in the section above.

To be able to establish conclusively the position of Dompo, an in-depth comparative study would have to be conducted by comparing Dompo and the Guang languages. This study would have to include not only comparison of words but also a detailed comparison of the morphology and syntax of the Guang languages. Since this comparative study was beyond the scope of this study, another project would have to tackle this limitation. Additionally, it has been challenging getting materials on all the North-Guang languages that Dompo has been opined to be part of. This would have been helpful especially with the synthesis aspect of this chapter where cross referencing of some phenomena that were common or not common in some of these languages would have been helpful. This thesis provides systematic documentation of Dompo across all linguistic levels, providing an important source of data for future comparative work that will be able to more definitely address the relationship between Dompo and the Norther-Guang languages, particularly Gonja.

An area that would need further exploration is the aspect of phonology. While care has been taken to describe the sounds, tones and tonal assimilations, further empirical investigations would need to be conducted in this area. The use of modern instrumental approaches to investigate further the phenomenon of tone in the language could provide more insights.

It is hoped that the purpose of this research work has, to a large extent, been fulfilled. The description of this language is intended to serve as a foundation for other language analysts who would want to expand, by working on any of the areas described in the thesis. It is also hoped that the remaining speakers of Dompo will not despair in transmitting the language to the younger generation and that the language will get the opportunity to be revitalized.

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SOME DOMPO TEXTS

The following texts were collected from four native speakers of Dompo who live in Dompofie. They comprise folktales, procedural texts and the pea story. They are interlineally glossed and translated into English.

1. This story was told in Dompo by Madam Afua Nimena on 18th November 2016 in Dompofie. It was translated into Akan by Mr. Daniel Kofi Nakpa and into English by me.

THE FOWL'S PECK AND THE ELEPHANT'S CURSE

A partridge, guinea fowl and a fowl were in the bush and were being looked after by the elephant. One day, the elephant went to pluck termites and gave to them and they ate for a long while and got satisfied. The weather was very hot, and the elephant felt the heat, so it went to lie under a shade. When it was about to fall asleep, it felt a peck on its bottom. Then the fowl came to peck one side of its bottom and another of those birds came to peck the other side of its bottom. Then it abruptly woke up and exclaimed "ahhh who are the ones that did this?" Then partridge said, "it is not us, it is the fowl" then the guinea fowl also said, "it is not us it the fowl" Then elephant entered their midst and beat them till they all scattered. And it cursed them that "from today when you eat you will never be satisfied till you die from this world" Can't you see that no matter how much the fowl eats, it still wipes its mouth on the ground and still goes around looking for food as if to say that it has not eaten anything? That is the meaning.

"dòòwè	né	chã̀	né	kòsì	fáárɔ́	bì	yàà
partridge	CONJ	guinea fowl	CONJ	fowl	bush	3PL	go

'Partridge and guinea fowl and fowl lived in the bush'

wɔ̀	nè	sló		blá	bám.	Kó	sló		blá
be at	CONJ	elephant		raise	3PL	REL	elephant		raise

'and elephant was raising them. When the elephant was raising'

bám	wá,	káké̃	kó	è	yá	tíí	kánká		kán
3PL	DET	day	indef	3SG	go	pluck	termites		SC

'them, one day it went to pluck termites and'

bá	wùrè	bán	krɔ́	nè	bì	jí	chĩ́ĩ́	kán	mùɛ̀".
come	put	3PL	side	CONJ	3PL	eat	IDEO	SC	satisfy

'put it for them and they ate until they were satisfied'

né	pã	bàdὲὲ	ló	né	yíró	bàdὲὲ	sló		né
CONJ	sun	hot	that	conj	body	hot	elephant		CONJ

'And the weather was hot, and the elephant felt hot'

è	yá	lìà	mú	yírò	kán	dèhè	yìlù	rɔ́.	Kó
3SG	go	remove	3SG	body	SC	lie	shade	in	REL

'And so, it went to lie under the shade. When'

è	déhè	wá	né	è	bɔ́	fnɛ́	èn	dí
3SG	lie	DET	CONJ	3SG	make	like	3SG-FUT	sleep

'it lay there, and as soon as it was just about to fall asleep'

tó	né	mù	ntnɔ̀	ré	è	pré	né	kòsí
INT	CONJ	3SG	buttocks	TOP	3SG	hot	CONJ	fowl

'And it felt a hotness on its buttocks. And the fowl'

bá	jɔ̀ɔ̀	dé	né	dédìá	bá	jɔ̀ɔ̀	dé	né	è
come	pierce	here	CONJ	DEM	come	pierce	here	CONJ	3SG

'came to prick this side of his buttocks, and the other pricked another side and it'

wúlò	kán	kàà	yé	áá!	bá	mné	kó	bì	bɔ́
shout	SC	wake	say	INTJ	PL	who	INDEF	3PL	do

'shouted and woke and said aa! Which people did'

sén	díá	pɛ̀ɛ̀?	né	dòòwè	yè	màá	àní	nà.
matter	this	at all	CONJ	partridge	say	NEG	1PL	PART

'this things at all? And partridge said it is not us'

yé	kòsí	nà	né	chằ	yè	màá	àní	yé
say	fowl	PART	CONJ	guinea fowl	say	NEG	1PL	say

'it said, it is fowl. And the guinea fowl said it is not us it said'

kòsí	nà.	Né	è	lúá	bám	kán	brì	bám	kán
fowl	PART	CONJ	3SG	enter	3PL	SC	beat	3PL	SC

'it is fowl. And it (elephant) entered their midst and beat them and'

ŋmànyáà	rɔ̀.	Kó	è	brì	bám	wá	né	bì
scatter	in	REL	3SG	beat	3PL	DET	CONJ	3PL

'they scattered. When it (elephant) beat them, and they'

hlè	kám	bà	né	è	tílè	bám	yé	bìì	kán
run	SC	come	CONJ	3SG	curse	3PL	say	3PL	SC

'run and came back. And it (elephant) cursed them that they'

yílì	kábrè	yé	bí	mán	múé	kán	bá	lìrè	wángrá
stand	today	say	3PL	NEG	satisfy	SC	come	exit	world

'From today, they will never be satisfied in the world'

rɔ̀.	yé	àló	bìn	sáá.	Ó	mín	wù	né
in	say	like that	3PL	roam	2SG	NEG	see	CONJ

'And it (elephant) said, that is how you will roam. Don't you see'

kòsì	né	è	jí	chííí	nè	mù	yá	kpárèè	mù
fowl	CONJ	3SG	eat	IDEO	CONJ	3SG	go	wipe	3SG

'that the fowl, even though it eats for a long time, it still goes about wiping its'

kánú	káwòlé	yé	è	mín	jì	sò	kò	kábrè.	Mù
mouth	ground	say	3SG	NEG	eat	thing	INDEF	today	3SG

'beak on the floor. As if to say it has not eaten anything today. That'

ntnɔ́   nà".
under   FOC
'is its meaning'

(doy_20161118_37_EDD_NSAKMDKNANAK_Some folktales in Dompo # 1).

2. This second story was told in Dompo by Madam Afua Nimena on 21st November 2016 in Dompofie. It was translated into Akan by Mr. Daniel Kofi Nakpa and into English by me.

THE HAND'S ADVICE TO THE MOSQUITO

The ear married its wife, but the mosquito also liked the ear's wife. The hand however advised the mosquito against liking the ear's wife. The mosquito did not heed this advice and thus went ahead to still pursue the ear's wife. The ear then cursed the mosquito that it would always be roaming about crying at night without knowing any peace. So, when you sleep and the mosquito enters your ear and the hand hits it, it is as if the hand is telling the mosquito that it forewarned it.

"Sèpè   mù   kó   è   pó   mú   ká   né   kàpnǐ
Ear   3SG   FOC   3SG   marry 3SG   wife   CONJ   mosquito
'The ear is the one who married its wife and mosquito'

bá   lèè   mú.   Né   è   yɛ́   è   léé   mú   né
come   like   3SG.   CONJ   3SG   say   3SG   like   3SG   CONJ
'came to like her. And when it (mosquito) said it liked her, and'

kàhàlé yáà   yɛ́   chèè   díá   màà   ó   léé   yɛ́   nà
hand   go   say   woman   DEM   NEG   2SG   like   COP   FOC
'the hand said this woman, do not like her (warning the mosquito).

ò.   yɛ́   ó   má   lèè   mú.   Né   è   chínà   kán
DISJ   say   2SG   NEG   like   3SG   CONJ   3SG   sit   SC
'it (hale) said you should not like her. And the mosquito sat and'

lèè   mú.   Nɛ́   sèpè   è   tílè   mù.   Àló   ó
like   3SG   CONJ   ear   3SG   curse 3SG   like that   2SG
'liked her. And the ear cursed the mosquito (saying), that is how you'

yáá   wùrá   wúlò   kráá   ó   kánú   màn   trɔ́.   Dáŋàà nó
go   enter   shout   INT   2SG   mouth   NEG-FUT   fall   so   COND
'go around shouting. Your shouting will never end. So, if'

ó   báá   wù   nó   ó   déhè   brɔ̀   né   kàpnǐ
2SG   come   see   COND   2SG   sleep   room-in   CONJ   mosquito
'you come and see that if you sleep in the room and mosquito'

bá   wùrà   ó   sépé   rɛ́   nè   hàlé   ŋmèè   mú   né
come   enter   2SG   ear   TOP   CONJ   hand   hit   3SG   CONJ
'comes to enter your ears and the hand hits it'

è	yɛ́	è	mín	yɛ́	ó	krɔ́	à?"
3SG	say	3SG	NEG	say	2SG	side	Q

'it (the hand) is telling the mosquito, didn't I tell you (not to like her)?

(doy_20161121_40_EDD_NSAKMDKNANAK_some folktales and idioms # 10)

3. This story was told in Dompo by Madam Afua Nimena on 21st November 2016 in Dompofie. It was translated into Akan by Mr. Daniel Kofi Nakpa and into English by me.

THE WICKED BROTHER AND THE CRAB WHO TOLD HIS SECRET

A person gave birth to her children and then died and left them. When she died, some of them were not old. When the eldest prepared food, he would tell one of the young ones that if he did not know his name, he would not give him food. And the child said that he did not know his name. That is how it went on. They washed plates at the riverside. When they got there, the child would scrape the remains of the food stuck under the saucepan and chew it. And the crab said to him "when people come to the riverside, they throw the remains of the food in their pots for me to eat. Why is it that when you come here you do not throw any food for me?" Then the child told the crab "My elder brother and I live together but when he cooks, he does not give me food because I don't know his name" Then the crab said, "when you go home, tell him his name is tomorrow". Then the boy came home and was muttering the name to himself and the brother asked him "what are you saying to yourself?" Then the brother continued to cook a delicious meal and was ready to eat without his siblings. Then the younger brother said, "your name is tomorrow" Then the elder brother said, "who told you that my name is tomorrow?" The boy responded, "the crab told me your name is tomorrow". Then the brother stood up and turned to walk towards the riverside. When he reached there, he shouted and called out "crab, crab why is it that you told my brother that my name is tomorrow?". The crab responded "I am the one that said it. When you have siblings, do you eat and let them go hungry? That is the reason I told your brother that your name is tomorrow". Then the eldest sibling took a stick and hit the crab. That is why the crab walks sideways.

"shíá	kó	káá	kán	kùrè	mù	bá	bí.	È	kúré
person	INDEF	wake	SC	bear	3SG	3PL	child	3SG	bear

'A person awoke and bore her children. She bore'

mbìà	àná	kán	wù	kán	yìɛ̀	bám.	Dáŋàà	kó	è
PL-child	QUANT	SC	die	SC	leave	3PL	so	REL	3SG

'children and died and left them. So when she'

wú	wá	dédìá	wɔ̀	mùà	mìn	fó	sò	kò.	kó
die	DET	DEM	be at	3SG	NEG	reach	thing	INDEF	REL

'died, they had not grown (to reach anywhere). When'

è	bɔ́	jísɔ́	wá	né	è	yɛ́	kàbìà	né	è
3SG	make	eat-thing	DET	CONJ	3SG	say	child	FOC	3SG

'he prepares food, and he will say, the child who he'

mìn	bìì	mú	nyíné	kán	trè	yɛ́	è	màn	jí
NEG	know	3SG	name	SC	call	say	3SG	NEG-FUT	eat

'does not know his name to call, he will not eat'

jísɔ́.	è	màn	hɑ̃̀	mù	jísɔ́.	Nɛ́	kàbìà	wá
eat-thing	3SG	NEG-FUT	give	3SG	eat-thing.	CONJ	child	DET

'food. He will not give him food. And the child'

yɛ́	è	mìn	nyìì	mú	nyíné.	Àló	nà	né	è	bɔ̀
say	3SG	NEG	know	3SG	name	like that	FOC	REL	3SG	make

'said he does not know his name. That is how it was. It happened that'

dáŋàá	bɔ́ndɔ́	bì	yáá	fró	lɛ̀pé.	Nɛ́	bì	yɔ̀	rɛ́
so	riverside	3PL	go	wash	plate.	and	3PL	go	TOP

'they go and wash plates at the riverside. When they go'

né	bì	dɑ̀ɑ̃̀	jísɔ́	wá	né	è	mátà	kálɔ́	wá
CONJ	3PL	cook	eat-thing	DET	CONJ	3SG	attach	pot	DET

'and the scrap of food that is stuck in the pot they cooked in'

rɛ́	nɛ̀	mù	déŋè	ámú	kó	à	mátá	ámú	wó
TOP	CONJ	3SG	remove	PL-3SG	INDEF	PL	attach	PL-3SG	on

'and he will remove them (the scraps) that are stuck'

káá	wé.	Nɛ́	ŋglà	yè	'àà	yè	dáŋàá	né	bì
SC	chew	CONJ	crab	say	INTJ	say	so	COND	3PL

'and chew. And crab said, 'àà! So when people'

bà	rɛ́	yɛ́	bì	líá	mú	káá	tóó	mìà	krɔ̀
come	TOP	say	3PL	remove	3SG	SC	throw	1SG.IND	side

'come, they remove it (the scraps) and throw it for me'

ntí	né	è	bɔ́	né	fɑ̃̀à	bá	ó	mán
why	CONJ	3SG	make	CONJ	2SG.IND	come	2SG	NEG-FUT

'why is it that when you come you will not'

líá	mú	káá	tóó	mìà	krɔ̀?	Yɛ́	kó	é	bà
remove	3SG	SC	throw	1SG.IND	side	say	REL	3SG	come

'remove it (the scraps) and throw for me? He said, when I come'

díá	yɛ́	mù	nà	mín	wé	káá	yá	chíná	yɛ́
DEM	say	3SG	FOC	1SG-FUT	chew	SC	go	sit	say

'This is what I will eat and stay on. He said'

mìà	nè	mí	dáá	nà	yɛ́	né	mí	dáá	yè
1SG.IND	CONJ	1SG	elder	FOC	say	CONJ	1SG	elder	say

'I and my elder brother and my brother said'

mín	tíí	mú	nyíné	né	mù	nyìnè	wá	yɛ́	é
1SG-FUT	call	3SG	name	CONJ	3SG	name	DET	said	1SG

'I will have to call his name and (the boy said) I'

mín	*nyí*	*mú.*	*Né*	*è*	*yɛ́*	*nó*	*ó*	*báá*	*yɔ̀*
NEG	know	3SG.	CONJ	3SG	say	COND	2SG	come	go

'don't know it. And (the crab) said if you go'

rɛ́	*mù*	*nyìnè*	*lè*	*kɛ̀*	*kɛ̀.*	*Né*	*è*	*bá*	*è*
TOP	3SG	name	be	tomorow	tomorrow.	CONJ	3SG	come	3SG

'His name is tomorrow. And the boy came and he'

bá	*chìnà.*	*kɛ̀*	*kɛ̀.*	*Né*	*è*	*yɛ́*	*nɔ́ɔ̀*	*ó*	*yúrí*
come	sit	tomorrow	tomorrow	CONJ	3SG	say	what	2SG	steal

'came to sit and was saying the name tomorrow to himself. And the brother said what
Are you muttering to yourself?'

káá	*yɛ́*	*wó?*	*kɛ̀*	*kɛ̀*	*né*	*è*	*bɔ́*	*jísɔ́*	*wá*
SC	say	on	tomorrow	tomorrow	CONJ	3SG	make	eat-thing.	DET

'and he continued to mutter tomorrow, tomorrow and he (the brother) made food'

nlue.	*kɛ̀*	*kɛ̀.*	*Né*	*è*	*bɔ́*	*jísɔ́*	*wá*	*nlúé*
SC-finish	tomorrow	tomorrow.	CONJ	3SG	make	eat-thing	DET	SC-finish

'and finished. The boy continued to mutter the name. And the brother finished making food'

tó.	*Né*	*bì*	*wésé*	*jísɔ̀*	*wá*	*né*	*è*	*yɛ́*	*ó*	*nyínɛ́*
INT.	CONJ	3PL	pound	eat-thing	DET	CONJ	3SG	say	2SG	name

'and they were pounding the food and then the younger brother said your name'

le	*kɛ̀.*	*Yɛ́*	*áá*	*mnɛ́*	*kó*	*è*	*yɛ́*	*ó*	*krɔ́*
is	tomorrow	say	INTJ	who	REL	3SG	say	2SG	side

'is tomorrow. And the elder brother said, who is it that told you'

nó	*ó*	*bíí*	*fnɛ́*	*mí*	*nyínɛ́*	*lè*	*kɛ̀*	*péé?*	*Né*
CONJ	2SG	know	that	1SG	name	is	tomorrow	at all?	CONJ

'and you got to know that my name is tomorrow at all! And'

è	*yɛ́*	*ŋglà*	*kò*	*è*	*yɛ́*	*mí*	*krɔ́.*	*Né*	*è*
3SG	say	crab	FOC	3SG	say	1SG	side	CONJ	3SG

'he said crab is the one who told me. And he (the brother)'

káá	*tó*	*kán*	*trɔ́*	*kpà.*	*Ŋglà*	*oo*	*ŋglà.*	*Mnɛ́*	*kó*
wake	INT	SC	fall	road	crab	oo	crab	who	FOC

'rose immediately and set off on the road. Calling out to the crab. Who is it'

yɛ́	*mí*	*sópó*	*fnɛ́*	*mí*	*nyínɛ́*	*lè*	*kɛ̀*	*péé?*	*Né*
say	1SG	young	that	1SG	name	is	tomorrow	at all	CONJ

'that told my younger brother that my name is tomorrow at all! And'

è	*yɛ́*	*mí*	*kòó*	*è*	*yɛ̀*	*mù.*	*Nó*	*ó*	*níí*
3SG	say	1SG	EMP	3SG	say	3SG	COND	2SG	mother

'he (the crab) said, I am the one who told him. If your mother'

kùrè	*ó*	*nó*	*ó*	*sópó*	*bì*	*jí*	*káá*	*yíé*	*mú*
bear	2SG	CONJ	2SG	young	3PL	eat	SC	leave	3SG

'gives birth to you and your young siblings, do you eat and leave him?'

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à?	*Nó*	*ó*	*níí*	*kùrè*	*fʋ̀á*	*nó*	*ó*	*sópó*	*bì*
Q	COND	2SG	mother	bear	2SG.IND	CONJ	2SG	young	3PL

'If your mother gives birth to you and your young ones do they'

jí	*káá*	*yíé*	*mú*	*à?*	*Mù*	*kó*	*é*	*yí*	*nɛ̀*
eat	SC	leave	3SG	Q	3SG	FOC	3SG	let	CONJ

'eat and leave him? It is what let me and'

é	*yɛ́*	*mù*	*krɔ̀*	*fnɛ́*	*ó*	*nyìnɛ́*	*lè*	*kɛ̀!.*	*Nɛ́*
3SG	say	3SG	side	that	2SG	name	is	tomorrow	CONJ

'I told him that your name is tomorrow. And'

bì	*yɔ̀*	*nɛ*	*è*	*fó*	*léé*	*ò.*	*ŋglà*	*wá*	*è*
3PL	go	CONJ	3SG	reach	like	DISJ	crab	DET	3SG

'they went and the crab had reached (this level of height). The crab it

yàà	*fò*	*léé.*	*Nɛ́*	*múà*	*bá.*	*È*	*wɔ̀*	*bóndɔ́*	*nɔ̀*
go	reach	like this	CONJ	3SG.IND	come	3SG	be at	riverside	there

'had reached (this level). And he (the brother) came back. It (crab) was there at the riverside'

né	*è*	*yá*	*tú*	*mú*	*tó*	*kán*	*kɛ̀ɛ̀*	*pɔ́ɔ́*	*tó*
CONJ	3SG	go	meet	3SG	INT	SC	take	stick	INT

'And he went to meet it. And he took a stick immediately'

kán	*ŋmɛ̀ɛ̀*	*mú*	*tó.*	*Nó*	*ó*	*báá*	*wù*	*ŋglà*	*né*
SC	hit	3SG	INT	COND	2SG	come	see	crab	CONJ

'and hit it. If you come and see the crab and'

è	*yɔ́*	*ŋkɛ̀lɔ́*	*léé*	*rɛ́*	*mù*	*ntnɔ́*	*nà"*
3SG	go	side	like this	TOP	3SG	under	FOC

'It goes on its side like this, then that is the meaning'

(doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_some folktales and idioms_ # 24)

4. This story was told in Dompo by Madam Afua Nimena on 21st November 2016 in Dompofie. It was translated into Akan by Mr. Daniel Kofi Nakpa and into English by me.

THE PRICE OF HATRED

There once lived a woman. She lived with three other tenants. She hated one of the women. When she prepared food, she would give the others but not to the one she hated. That is how it was everyday. One day, she said she was going to kill the animals in her room and bought medicine to do so. The powdery medicine to kill the animals entered some flour that she had in her room, which she was going to prepare food with. She did not know this. So, she used the poisoned flour to prepare food. She did not give food to the woman she hated. But the two other women she did not hate, she gave them food. But one of them said her stomach was aching so she left the food in order to eat it in the morning. The other woman ate hers and the woman who prepared the food also ate hers. The one who prepared the food died and the other woman she gave the food to, also died. The woman she did not give food to, saved her life. Was her God not good? So, when you and a stranger live together in a house and she cooks something and she does not give you, leave her.

Chèè   kó   wùrɔ̀   mù   nè   mù   brábrà   bì   chínà.   Lóŋó   è
Woman INDEF be at   3SG   CONJ   3SG   co-equal   3PL   stay   how   3SG
'There was a woman who lived with her co-equals (co-tenants). How she'

kísì   mú   wá.   Né   è   bɔ̀   jísɔ́,   bì   wɔ̀   bàshìà
hate   3SG   DET   REL   3SG   make   eat-thing   3PL   be at   PL.person
'hated one of them. When She prepares food, they were three people'

sà.   È   hɑ̃́   dé   è   màn   hɑ̃́   dé.   Ŋkèéŋkè   àló   nà
three 3SG   give   DEM   3SG   NEG-FUT   give   DEM   day-RED   like that FOC
'She gave this person she will not give that person. This was how it was everyday'

kákɛ́   kó   è   kàà   tó   yé   èn   mɔ̃́ɔ̃́   brɔ   ásɔ́   áná
day   INDEF 3SG   wake   INT   say   3SG-FUT kill   room   PL.animal   QUANT
'One day, she arose immediately and said she was going to kill the insects in her room'

kán   tɔ̀   drú.   kán   wùrà   brɔ́.   Drú   wá   kó
SC   buy   medicine   SC   enter   room-in   medicine   DET   INDEF
'And went to buy medicine and put in the room. Some of the medicine'

trɔ̀   nyófɔ́   wa   rɔ́.   È   mìn   nyì.   Né   è   bá   kèè   mu
fall   flour   DET   in   3SG   NEG   know   CONJ   3SG   come   take   3SG
'poured into the flour. She did not know. And came to take it (the flour)'

kaa   ya   dãã   jisɔ.   Kó   è   kísì   wá   è   mìn   hɑ̃́
SC   go   cook   eat-thing   INDEF 3SG   hate   DET   3SG   NEG   give
'And went to prepare food. The one she hated, she did not give'

mùà.   Kó   è   mìn   kísì   wá   bì   wɔ̀   bàshìà   nyɔ̀   né
3SG.IND   INDEF 3SG   NEG   hate   DET   3PL   be at   PL.person. two   CONJ
'her. The one she did not hate they were two and'

è   hɑ̃́   bám.   Kòólè   è   mìn   hɑ̃́   mù.   Dédìá   yé   mùà
3SG   give   3PL.   one   3SG   NEG   give   3SG.   DEM   say   3SG.IND
'she gave them. One, she did not give her. This (one of the women) said her'

kámbrɔ́   dúú   mú.   Mùà   mìn   tín   jì   mú   yɛ́
stomach   pain   3SG   3SG.INDNEG   BE.ABLE   eat   3SG   COP
'stomach was hurting her. She could not eat her own'

wá   kábrɛ. Nè   dé   jí   mù   yɛ́.   kó   è-bɔ́   jí-sɔ́
DET   today CONJ   DEM   eat   3SG   COP   INDEF 3SG-make   eat-thing
'that day. And the other ate her own. The one who prepared the food'

wá   wú.   kó   è   hɑ̃́   è   wú.   kó   è   mìn
DET   die   INDEF 3SG   give   3SG   die   INDEF 3SG   NEG
'died. The one she gave also died. The one she did not'

hɑ̃́   è   bɔ́   ntí?   (è   nyá   mù   yìrò).   mù   Bwàrè
give   3SG   make   what   3SG   get   3SG   body   3SG.POSS   God
'give, what happened to her? She saved her life. Her God was'

nywálé   à?   dáŋàá né   fɔ́   né   shíá   chìnà   làndɔ̀
good   q   so   COND   stranger   CONJ   person stay   house
'good. So, if a stranger and people stay in one house'

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né	*è*	*bɔ́*	*sɔ́*	*kó*	*né*	*è*	*mìn*	*hǎ́*	*wó*	*rè*
CONJ	3SG	make	thing	INDEF	CONJ	3SG	NEG	give	2SG	TOP

'And she prepares something and does not give you'

yìè	*mú.*
leave	3SG.

'leave her'

(doy_20161121_40_EDD_KMDKNAN_some folktales and idioms_ # 40)

5. This story was told in Dompo by Mr. Kosi Mila on 22nd November 2016 in Dompofie. It was translated into Akan by Mr. Daniel Kofi Nakpa and into English by me.

THE RESULT OF UNITY IN THE TERMITES KINGDOM

The termites established their village. After a while, there always used to be arguments amongst them. When they had issues, they all scattered about angrily. When this one spoke the others would not listen, when the other one spoke, they would not listen. And one of them said to the group, let us all meet to discuss this behaviour". And they all met and said, "we are one people. We have the same mother. So why is it that when issues come up then everyone leaves in anger. If we all leave with anger in us will our village be a better place? So, let us all be united. If we are united, even when we kill an elephant, we can carry him. If we are not united and the elephant comes into our midst, won't it scatter us"? Truly, a termite went to the bush and killed an elephant and came and informed the others that it had killed an elephant and asked how they will they bring it home. And they said "really?" So, they all gathered around the elephant and while two of them held one side of the elephant, five others held the other side and the others held other places. And they covered it and carried it home. And others asked, "how did you bring the elephant home" And they replied "it is true that previously when we had arguments, we used to insult each other and everyone went their way. If we do not unite, we can't keep our village together. It is unity that enabled us carry the elephant"

"*Fĩ̀ĩfĩ*	*kó*	*bì*	*káá*	*bì*	*yá*	*téé*	*bán*	*káwí.*	*Kó*	*bì*	*yá*
Termite	INDEF	3PL	wake	3PL	go	build	3PL	village	REL	3PL	go

'Some termites awoke and went to build their village. When they went to'

téé	*bán*	*káwí*	*wá,*	*kèlèkélé*	*né*	*sèn*	*kò*	*bà,*	*nè*	*bán*
build	3PL	village	DET	truly	COND	issue	INDEF	come	CONJ	3PL

'build their village, truly, when issues come then they'

ŋmányáá	*rɔ̀.*	*Né*	*dédìá*	*bà,*	*è*	*màn*	*nú*	*mù,*	*kó*	*è*
scatter	in	COND	DEM	come	3SG	NEG-FUT	hear	3SG	REL	3SG

'scatter. When this one comes, it will not listen to the other. What it'

yé	*è*	*màn*	*nú*	*mù.*	*Dédìà*	*màn*	*nú*	*mù.*	*Dédìà*	*màn*	*nú*
say	3SG	NEG-FUT	hear	3SG	DEM	NEG-FUT	hear	3SG	DEM	NEG-FUT	hear

'says it will not listen. This one will not also listen. The other will also not listen'

mù.	*Né*	*dédìà*	*bá*	*yé*	*kèlé*	*nà.*	*Àmpésíàná*	*bí*	*yí*	*nè*
3SG	CONJ	DEM	come	say	true	FOC	People	3PL	let	CONJ

'to it. And this one came and said it is true. People (termites) let'

à	*kúlà*	*è.*	*Né*	*bì*	*bá*	*kùlà*	*né*	*bì*	*yé*	*kèlè*	*nà*
1PL	gather	PART	CONJ	3PL	come	gather	CONJ	3PL	say	true	FOC

'us gather. And they all came to gather and said, it is true'

ntì	*péé?*	*Yé*	*kó*	*á*	*téé*	*dìá,*	*ànì*	*níí*	*bí*	*wɔ̀*	*kòólè*
why	at all	say	REL	1PL	build	DEM	1PL	mother	3PL	be at	one

'why is this so. They said since we built this place, we are all from one mother'

è	*bɔ́*	*ntì*	*né*	*sém*	*bà*	*né*	*dédìà*	*nɛ*	*mu*	*kèè*	*gbó*
3SG	make	why	CONJ	issue	come	CONJ	DEM	CONJ	3SG	take	anger

'why is it that when issues come, this person will go away being angry'

kán	*yɔ̀.*	*Né*	*bí*	*kéé*	*gbó*	*kán*	*yɔ̀*	*dìá*	*kàbò*	*wá*	*èn*
SC	go	COND	3PL	take	anger	SC	go	DEM	place	DET	3SG-FUT

'and leave. If we all go away being angry, will this place'

nywálè	*dìá*	*a?*	*Lóŋóá*	*bí*	*yí*	*ná*	*á*	*kéé*	*kànù*	*kòólè.*
Good	DEM	Q	so	3PL	let	CONJ	1PL	take	mouth	one

'be good? So let us all be united with one voice'

kèlèkélé	*ná*	*á*	*kéé*	*kànù*	*kòólè*	*né*	*á*	*mɔ̌ɔ́*	*sló*	*ànín*
truly	COND	1PL	take	mouth	one	CONJ	1PL	kill	elephant	1PL-FUT

'Truly, if we are united with one voice, even if we kill an elephant we will'

tín	*mù*	*hùlà.*	*Lóŋóá*	*né*	*á*	*mín*	*kèè*	*kánù*	*kòólè*	*né*	*sló*
BE.ABLE	3SG	carry	so	COND	1PL	NEG	take	mouth	one	CONJ	elephant

'be able to carry it. But if we do not unite, if the elephant'

dìá	*bà*	*màá*	*ŋmànyáá*	*ŋmànyáá*	*ànì*	*rɔ́*	*à?*	*kèlèkélé*
DEM	come	NEG	scatter	scatter	1PL	in	Q	truly

'comes here, will it not scatter us all? Truly'

ké	*kó*	*fíĩ́fí*	*è*	*yɔ́*	*fáárɔ́,*	*è*	*yá*	*mɔ̌ɔ́*	*sló*	*è*	*bá*
day	INDEF	termite	3SG	go	bush	3SG	go	kill	elephant	3SG	come

'one day, a termite went to the bush. It killed an elephant and come'

bɔ́	*mánìé*	*yé*	*è*	*mɔ̌ɔ́*	*slo.*	*Né*	*bì*	*yé*	*ntí*	*ànín*	*bɔ́*
make	matter	say	3SG	kill	elephant.	CONJ	3PL	say	how	1PL-FUT	make

'to inform the rest that it had killed an elephant. And they said how will they do it'

kán	*brá*	*mù*	*péé?*	*né*	*bì*	*yé*	*kèlèkélé*	*à?*	*yé*	*sló*
SC	bring	3PL	at all	CONJ	3PL	say	truly	Q	say	elephant

'to be able to bring it? And they said truly? They said'

kélè	*à?*	*né*	*è*	*yé*	*ɛ̃̀ɛ̃́.*	*kèlèkélé*	*kó*	*dédìà*	*yɔ́*	*bàshìà*
true	Q	CONJ	3SG	say	INTJ	truly	REL	DEM	go	PL-person

'true? And the rest said yes. And truly, when this one goes'

nyɔ̀	né	bì	yá	krà	jáá	dìá	né	bàshìà	nùm	bá	krà
two	CONJ	3PL	go	hold	hand	DEM	CONJ	PL-person	five	come	hold

'two people will hold this hand, and five people will hold'

jáá	dìá.	Né	bì	búú	mù	wò	káá	hùlà	hùlà	kán	bá
hand	dem	CONJ	3PL	cover	3SG	on	SC	carry	carry	SC	come

'another hand. And they covered it and carried it and came'

tó.	Né	è	bísà	bí	yé	éé	yé	ntì	péé?	ntí	bì
INT	CONJ	3SG	ask	3PL	say	INTJ	say	how	PART	how	3PL

'And one of them asked them (in surprise) how did you'

bɔ́	kán	brá	mù	péé?	né	bì	yé	kèlé	nà.	Yé	dràwá
make	SC	bring	3PL	PART	CONJ	3PL	say	true	FOC	say	previously

'do it to be able to bring it? And they said it is true. Previously'

né	kásíí̵	bà	ná	à	pwé	á	brá	kán	ŋmànyáá	rɔ̀
COND	argument	come	CONJ	1PL	insult	1PL	self	SC	scatter	in

'when we had arguments and we insult one another and dispersed'

ná	á	mín	kèè	kánú	kòólè	á	mán	tín	kɔ̀là	kábò	wá.
FOC	1PL	NEG	take	mouth	one	1PL	NEG-FUT	BE.ABLE	gather	place	DET

'If we did not unite with one voice, we could not sustain this place'

Kànù	kòólè	ré	mù	ná	á	kèè	kán	tín	hùlà	sló	wa
Mouth	one	TOP	3SG	FOC	1PL	take	SC	BE.ABLE	carry	elephant	DET

'unity is what enabled us carry the elephant'

ré	né	bí	káá	né	bì	kánú	màá	kòólè	né	shìà	kòólè
TOP	COND	3PL	wake	CONJ	3PL	mouth	NEG	one	COND	person	one

'If you awake and you are not united, if a person'

bà	èn	brí	bí	ré.	Lóŋóà	mù	ntnɔ́	nà.
come	3SG-FUT	beat	3PL	TOP.	Thus	3SG	under	FOC

'comes he/she will beat you. Therefore, that is the meaning.'

(doy_20161122_42_EDD_KMNSADKNANAK_more folktales and idioms_cont # 58)

6. This story was told in Dompo by Madam Afua Nimena on 22nd November 2016 in Dompofie. It was translated into Akan by Mr. Daniel Kofi Nakpa and into English by me.

THE WISE ADVISE

There was a tortoise family who all lived in one place. One day, the parents went out leaving the young ones behind. A hunter went out to hunt in the bushes. He roamed for a very long time but he did not get any game. He then chanced upon a group of baby tortoises and exclaimed, "eh God! My God is good. Since morning I have been roaming for a very long time. I did not know that I would get any game" Then he went to look for something to fetch them with, and he collected all of the baby tortoises and brought them home. When the parents of the baby tortoises came back, they did not find their children. Then their mother started crying and the father

consoled her and said "don't cry. Since I am the eldest here, I know that the hunter will go home and also meet an elderly person who will advise him to bring them back". Truly, the hunter arrived home and greeted his father. His father responded and asked how the farming went. Then the farmer said "initially when I went to the bush, I did not get anything. Then my God was good and I came to see these baby tortoises and collected all of them" Then his father said to him "carry all of them back right now and put them where you found them" Then the hunter took them back to where he collected them. When the tortoise parents came to see their children, their father said, "didn't I say it?" The way there is an elder here (in the animal kingdom) is the same way there is an elder in the in the home of humans.

Sèŋùnù	*kó*	*bì*	*yàà*	*wɔ*	*rέ.*	*kpà*	*kó*	*bì*	*yàà*	*chíná.*
Tortoise	INDEF	3PL	go	be at	TOP	place	INDEF	3PL	go	stay

'There were some tortoises. There all lived at one place'

Kó	*màá*	*kpàà*	*kó.*	*Kpà*	*kòólè*	*nɔ̀nɔ́*	*bì*	*chíná.*	*È*	*wɔ*	*nɔ̀*
INDEF	NEG	place	INDEF	place	one	where	3PL	stay	3SG	be at	there

'There were none anywhere else. They all stayed at one place. There they were'

È	*wɔ*	*nɔ̀*	*né*	*pámpó*	*è*	*yɔ́*	*fáárɔ́.*	*È*	*yá*	*bwɛ̀ɛ̀*	*chííí*
3SG	be at	there	CONJ	hunter	3SG	go	bush	3SG	go	roam	IDEO

'There they were, and the hunter went to the bush. He went to roam for a long time'

è	*mìn*	*nyá*	*só*	*kó.*	*Né*	*è*	*bá*	*tó*	*kán*	*bá*	*lìré*
3SG	NEG	get	thing	INDEF	NEG	3SG	come	INT	SC	come	enter

'He did not get anything (game). And as soon as he came, he chanced upon'

bán	*wó.*	*Yέ*	*éé*	*Bwàrèngbò*	*yέ*	*mí*	*Búàrè*	*è*	*nywálέ*
3PL	on	say	INTJ	God	say	1SG	God	3SG	good

'them, saying (in surprise), God. My God is so good'

Yέ	*kó*	*é*	*bà*	*kàkùná kán*	*bwɛ̀ɛ̀*	*chííí*	*yέ*	*mín*	*bíí*	*fné*
Say	REL	3SG	come	morning sc	roam	IDEO	say	1SG-FUT	know	that

'He said since I came in the morning and roamed for a long time, I did not know that'

mín	*nyá*	*sò*	*kò.*	*Jáá*	*bá*	*ntró*	*wá*	*né*	*mù*	*ká*	*báhá*
1SG-FUT	get	thing	INDEF.	Think	PL	father	DET	CONJ	3SG	wife	3PL

'I will get anything. Thinking their (baby tortoises) father and his wife they'

yɔ́	*bwéékpà.*	*Né*	*è*	*yá*	*lèè*	*só*	*kán*	*bá*	*ŋà*	*kán*
go	roam-place	CONJ	3SG	go	want	thing	SC	come	put	SC

'went roaming. And he went to look for something and put it down to'

plè	*bám*	*kán*	*bà*	*lánɔ̀.*	*Né*	*bì*	*bá*	*bì*	*nnrà*	*wá*	*bí*
collect	them	SC	come	home.	And	3PL	come	3PL	parent	DET	3PL

'collect them and brought them home. And the parents (of the tortoises) they'

mín	*wú*	*bám*	*né*	*bán*	*níí*	*wáá*	*sǔ*	*né*	*è*	*yé*	*ó*
NEG	see	3PL	CONJ	3PL	mother	DET	CRY	CONJ	3SG	say	2SG

'did not see them. And their mother started crying and he (their father) said to her'

máá	*sǔ̀.*	*Yέ*	*lókó*	*mìà*		*wɔ*	*bíí*	*krɔ́*	*nfɛ̀ɛ̀*	*dìà*	*àló*
NEG	cry.	Say	how	1SG-IND		be at	3PL	side	here	DEM	like that

'do not cry. He said the same way I (an elderly man) am here with you here, it is the same way'

èn	*yá*	*tú*	*kádrὲ*	*nɔ̀.*	*kὲlὲkélé*	*né*	*è*	*bá*	*lùà*	*lánɔ*
3SG-FUT	go	meet	elder	there	Truly	REL	3SG	come	arrive	home

'he will go and meet an elder there (at home). Truly, when he arrived home'

né	*mù*	*nnrà*	*è*	*hã̀*	*mú*	*lὲé*	*né*	*è*	*húlà*	*ntì*
CONJ	3SG	elder	3SG	give	3SG	welcome	CONJ	3SG	respond	how

'And his elder (father) welcomed him and he (the hunter (responded) and he said how did it go'

péé?	*yέ*	*kó*	*è*	*yɔ́*	*bwéékpà*	*wá,*	*yέ*	*mín*	*nyá*
PART?	Say	REL	3SG	go	roam-place	DET	say	1SG-NEG	get

'He (hunter) said, when I went to the bush to roam. I did not get'

só	*kó*	*krááá.*	*Né*	*mù*	*né*	*mí*	*Búárè*	*è*	*nywálὲ*	*né*
thing	INDEF	at all	CONJ	3SG	FOC	1SG	God	3SG	good	CONJ

'anything at all. And it is how my God, He was good and'

é	*bá*	*lìrè*	*sèŋùnù*	*dìá*	*áná*	*wó*	*kán*	*plè*	*bám.*	*Yέ*
1SG	come	enter	tortoise	DEM	QUANT	on	SC	collect	3PL	say

'I came to chance upon these tortoises and collected them. He (the elder) said'

éé	*hùlà*	*bám*	*lóŋó*	*lóŋó*	*dìá*	*kán*	*yɔ̀.*	*Yέ*	*kpá*	*kó*
INTJ	carry	3PL	now	now	DEM	SC	go.	Say	place	INDEF

'with surprise, the elder said carry them back immediately. He said the place'

ó	*kὲὲ*	*bám*	*wá*	*yέ*	*yà*	*ŋá*	*bám*	*nɔ̀.*	*Né*	*è*	*kéé*
'2SG	take	3PL	DET	say	go	put	3PL	there	CONJ	3SG	take'

'you took them from, go and put them back. And he took'

bám	*kán*	*yá*	*ŋà.*	*Kó*	*è*	*yɔ́*	*nè*	*bì*	*yɔ́*	*bwéékpá*
3PL	SC	go	put	REL	3SG	go	CONJ	3PL	go	roam-place

'them and put them back. When he went, they (the tortoise parent) has gone to roam'

álὲ	*ò.*	*Né*	*bì*	*nyá*	*kám*	*bà*	*kám*	*bá*	*tú*	*bám*
again	DISJ	REL	3PL	get	SC	come	SC	come	meet	3PL

'again. When they came back and met them (the baby tortoises)'

Yέ	*é*	*mín*	*yέ*	*à?*	*Yέ*	*kó*	*mìá*	*wɔ*	*nfèè*	*kàdrὲ*
Say	1SG	NEG	say	Q	say	REL	1SG-IND	be at	here	elder

'And the father said, didn't I say it? The way there is an elder here'

àló	*kó*	*kàdrὲ*	*wɔ*	*nɔ́*
like that	REL	elder	be at	there

'is the same way there is an elder there'

(doy_20161122_42_EDD_KMNSADKNANAK_more folktales and idioms_cont # 59)

7. This story was told in Nafaanra by Mr. Emmanuel Dwirah (Nana Shiembor Agba II) on 22nd November 2016 in Dompofie. It was translated into Dompo by Mr. Daniel Kofi Nakpa and Mr. Kosi Mila. It was translated into English by me.

THE WITTY SPIDER AND THE BLIND CROCODILE

A spider fell into a river and the river carried it away. When it was carried away, where did it (the spider) arrive? The spider landed in the cave of a crocodile. The crocodile was blind, and he had

just given birth to five children. So, the crocodile asked the spider, "what do you want here"? And the spider said, "I heard you have given birth and that is why I have come to greet you". The spider did not say it was the river that carried it and brought it there. And the crocodile said, "okay then, I am here so let's stay together" And they both stayed there together. The spider would bath the crocodile's children and they would look very nice. It reached a point when the crocodile asked the spider to prepare food. When the spider prepared the food, it would kill one of crocodile's children to prepare the food for them to eat. The food was very tasty. Then the crocodile would ask the spider "how come this food is very tasty?" And the spider would reply "this is called future cry" (meaning the crocodile will realize the source of the meat and cry in the future). The crocodile however did not understand what the spider meant by this.

That is how it went on until one day, the crocodile asked the spider "my children, put them in my hands so I can feel the stage they have grown up to". When the spider finished bathing one child, he put it in the crocodile's hands and immediately took it back from the crocodile and put the baby crocodile back into the water and give it back to the crocodile again. That is how the spider did it till they reached the number five and the crocodile believed all her children were alive.

After a while, the spider asked the crocodile "they say you can shake your tail till it throws me and I fall behind the river" and the crocodile said "yes" and the crocodile put his tail down and the spider climbed it and the crocodile shook his tail and the spider fell behind the river. That is where the spider stood and told the crocodile that "your children are the ones I used to prepare food for us to eat". And the crocodile sat there crying and remembered what the spider had said about him crying in the future.

"*nànsè*	*kó*	*è*	*káà*	*kán*	*yá*	*trɔ*	*bón*	*rɔ*
spider	INDEF	3SG	wake	SC	go	fall	river	in

'A spider woke up and fell into a river'

nè	*bón*	*wá*	*è*	*kɛ́ɛ́*	*mú.*	*kó*	*è*	*kɛ́ɛ́*	*mú*
CONJ	river	DET	3SG	take	3SG	REL	3SG	take	3SG

'And the river carried it away. When it carried it'

wá	*nɔ́ɔ̀*	*è*	*yá*	*lùá?*	*è*	*yá*	*lùá*	*lèŋè*
DET	where	3SG	go	arrive	3SG	go	arrive	crocodile

'where did it land? It landed in the crocodile's'

pé	*rɔ.*	*Lèŋè*		*wá*	*rɛ́*	*trà*	*pó*	*nà*	Nɛ́	*mùà*
hole	in	crocodile		DET	TOP	blind	person	PART	CONJ	3SG-IND

'cave. The crocodile was blind, and it'

kúrè	mbìà	núm.	*dáŋàá*	*né*	*lèŋè*		*è*	*bísà*	*nànsè*	*yɛ́*
bear	PL-child	five	so	CONJ	crocodile		3SG	ask	spider	say

'has just given birth to five children. And so the crocodile asked the spider saying'

nɔ́ɔ̀	*ó*	*léé*	*nfèè?*	*né*	*nànsè*	*yè*	*é*	*nú*	*fnɛ́*
what	2SG	want	here	CONJ	spider	say	1SG	hear	that

'what do you want here. And the spider said I have heard that'

ó	kùrè	mù	né	è	yé	mín	bá	há	wò
2SG	bear	3SG	CONJ	3SG	say	1SG-FUT	come	give	2SG

'you have given birth and I said to come and give you'

klà.	È	mìn	yé	fné	bòn	kó	è	kèè	mú	òò
greet	3SG	NEG	say	that	river	INDEF	3SG	take	3SG	PART

'greetings. It did not say that it was the river that had carried it'

Né	è	yé	yòò.	Dáŋàá	míà	wɔ̀	nfèè	yé	á
CONJ	3SG	say	okay	so	1SG-IND	be at	here	say	1PL

'and it (crocodile) said okay. I am here so we'

chíná	ɛ̀.	Nɛ́	nànsɛ̀	né	lèŋè	bì	wɔ̀	kán	chíná
Stay	PART	CONJ	spider	CONJ	crocodile	3PL	be at	SC	stay

'let us stay. And the spider and the crocodile stayed together'

nɔ́.	né	è	bɔ̀	nè	nànsɛ̀	mù	jrɛ́	mbìà	áná.
there	COND	3SG	make	CONJ	spider	3SG	bath	PL-child	QUANT

'there. It happened that the spider bathed the baby tortoises'

kán	bɔ́	bám	kámàkámà.	Kó	è	fò	nó	nè	lèŋè
SC	make	3PL	nice.RED	REL	3SG	reach	there	CONJ	crocodile

'and dressed them nicely. It reached a point when the crocodile'

yé	nànsɛ̀	mù	bɔ́	jí-sɔ́	ré	né	è	bɔ́	jí-sɔ́
tell	spider	3SG	make	eat-thing	TOP	REL	3SG	make	eat-thing

'said the spider should make food. When it made the food'

nè	mù	mɔ̃́ɔ̃́	mbìà	áná	kó	kán	dáá	pó	né
CONJ	3SG	kill	PL.child	QUANT	INDEF	SC	cook	soup	CONJ

'it will kill one of the baby tortoises and prepare soup with and'

bì	jí.	Pó	wáá	wɔ̀	blɛ̀.	Àló	è	wɔ̀	nɔ̀
3PL	eat	soup	DET	be at	tasty	like that	3SG	be at	there

'they ate. The soup was very tasty. That is how it went on there'

Krááá	nɛ́	kɛ́	kó	lèŋè	è	bísà	nànsɛ	yé	éé	yé
IDEO	CONJ	day	INDEF	crocodile	3SG	ask	spider	say	INTJ	say

'and one day, the crocodile asked the spider saying'

mbìà	áná	kèè	bán	kán	wúrá	mí	ndɔ́ɔ́rɔ́	né	mi	yaa
PL-child	QUANT	take	3PL	SC	enter	1SG	palm	CONJ	1SG	go

'place my children into my hands so I can'

kíní	kàbò	kó	bì	dɑ̌	kán	fò.	Né	è	jrè	dédìà
look	place	INDEF	3PL	grow	SC	reach	COND	3SG	bath	DEM

'see where they have grown up to. If it bathes this one'

nlúé	tó	nè	mù	kéé	kán	wúrá	mù	hàlé	né	è
SC-finish	INT	CONJ	3SG	take	SC	enter	3SG	hand	CONJ	3SG

'and finishes, it will immediately take it and put it in the crocodile's hands and it'

krà	*mú*	*né*	*è*	*láŋè*	*kán*	*hɔ̀ɔ̀*	*tó*	*nè*	*mù*	*wúrá*
hold	3SG	CONJ	3SG	return	SC	collect	INT	CONJ	3SG	enter

'holds it and it will take back the baby crocodile immediately and it will put'

mú	*nsɨ̀̃*	*rɔ́*	*kán*	*kɛ̀ɛ̀*	*wúrá*	*lèŋè*		*mù*	*hàlé.*	*Àló*	*è*
3SG	water	in	SC	take	enter	crocodile		3SG	hand	like that	3SG

'it into water and take it and put it into crocodile's hands. That is how it (spider)'

bɔ́	*bán*	*nè*	*kàbìà*	*kòóle*	*wá*	*è*	*bɔ́*	*ló*	*né*	*è*
make	3PL	CONJ	child	one	DET	3SG	make	this	CONJ	3SG

'did it until one child, it did it like this and it'

bá	*fó*	*bán*	*kánú*	*bán*	*srɛ́*	*nùm.*	*Né*	*è*	*hɔ́ɔ́*	*kán*
come	reach	3pl	mouth	3pl	meet	five	conj	3sg	collect	sc

'came to reach the number five of the children. And it (crocodile) believed'

jì	*yé*	*é*	*wù*	*bán.*	*Dáŋàá*	*kó*	*è*	*wɔ̀*	*nɔ̀*	*rɛ́*
eat	say	3SG	see	3PL.	So	REL	3SG	be at	there	TOP

'saying it (crocodile) had seen them. So, they were there'

nɛ́	*nànsè*	*è*	*láŋè*	*kán*	*bìsà*	*lèŋè*	*né*	*è*	*yé*	*bì*
CONJ	spider	3SG	return	SC	ask	crocodile	CONJ	3SG	say	3PL

'and spider again asked the crocodile saying that they say'

yè	*ón*	*tín*	*kɛ̀ɛ̀*	*ó*	*dúú*	*dìá*	*kán*	*ŋmànyàá*		*nè*
say	2SG-FUT	BE.ABLE	take	2SG	tail	DEM	SC	scatter		CONJ

'you can take this your tail and throw and'

mì	*yá*	*trɔ́*	*bóndé.*	*Ne*	*è*	*yé*	*ɛ̀̃ɛ̃́.*	*Né*	*bì*	*yìlì*
1SG	go	fall	river	CONJ	3SG	say	INTJ	CONJ	3PL	stand

'I will go fall behind the river. And it (crocodile) said yes. And they stood'

tó.	*Né*	*lèŋè*	*kɛ́ɛ́*	*mù*	*dúú*	*tó*	*kán*	*ŋá*	*né*	*nànsè*
INT	CONJ	crocodile	take	3SG	tail	INT	SC	put	CONJ	spider

'immediately and crocodile put its tail down and spider'

è	*díí*	*mú*	*wó.*	*Né*	*è*	*ŋmányàá*		*mù*	*né*	*è*
3SG	climb	3SG	on	CONJ	3SG	scatter		3SG	CONJ	3SG

'climbed on it and crocodile threw it (its tail) and'

yá	*trɔ́*	*bóndé.*	*Nɔ̀nɔ́*	*nànsɛ*	*yílí*	*kán*	*yé*	*mù*	*krɔ̀.*	*Yɛ́*
go	fall	river	Where	spider	stand	SC	say	3SG	side	say

'it fell behind the river. That is where it stood and told the crocodile saying'

ó	*mbìà*	*áná*	*bán*	*né*	*è*	*kɛ́ɛ́*	*káà*	*bɔ́*	*jísɔ́*	*ná*
2SG	PL-child	QUANT	3PL	CONJ	3SG	take	SC	make	eat-thing	FOC

'your children are the ones I used to cook the food'

á	*ji*	*wa.*	*Né*	*è*	*chíná*	*káá*	*sɨ̀̃.*	*Dáŋàá*	*sɨ̀̃*	*wá*
1PL	eat	DET.	CONJ	3SG	sit	SC	cry	that	cry	DET

'and we ate. And it (crocodile) sat and cried. That cry'

bì	*tré*	*mú*	*bá*	*lùé*	*sɨ̀̃.*	*Dáŋàá*	*nɔ̀nɔ́*	*è*	*yílí*	*né*
3PL	call	3SG	come	finish	cry	that	where	3SG	stand	CONJ

'people call it crying after finishing something. That is where it (spider) stood and'

lèŋè	*rɛ́*	*è*	*bá*	*lùé*	*káá*	*sɯ̃́.*	*Dáŋàá*	*mù*	*ntnɔ́*	*nà*
crocodile	TOP	3SG	come	finish	SC	cry	so	3SG	under	FOC

'crocodile it came to cry after finishing something (eating its own children unknowingly). So that is the meaning.

(doy_20161122_42_EDD_KMNSADKNANAK_more folktales and idioms_cont # 66).

8. This story was told in Nafaanra by Mr. Emmanuel Dwirah (Nana Shiembor Agba II) on 22nd November 2016 in Dompofie. It was translated into Dompo by Mr. Daniel Kofi Nakpa and Mr. Kosi Mila. It was translated into English by me.

HYENA'S TEMPTATION

One day the hyena woke up and said it was going to worship as a Muslim. Afterwards, it said it was going to Mecca. When you go to Mecca and come back, you don't have to do bad things again. It's only good you will have to do. So, it went to Mecca and came back home. One day, the goat came to see the dog and said, "they say the hyena has gone to Mecca and come back so let us go and greet it" and dog exclaimed "ehhh goat when we go to see the goat, will it spare us (will it not kill us)"? and the goat replied "once he has gone to Mecca and come back, he has called God. He will not do any bad thing so let us go" And they got up and went. And the dog said "goat, you know the hyena's house, take the lead" And the goat took the lead and they went and arrived and said "agoo" to draw the hyena's attention. And the hyena responded and said, "who is it?" and they said, "it is us" Then the goat entered and greeted it but the dog stood at the doorway and did not want to enter. The goat said "we heard that you have gone to Mecca and come back and so you will not do bad. We have come to greet you" And the hyena turned and said "I have gone to Mecca and come back. True. But they did not say that if you come and meet me in my cave, I should leave you alone (spare you)" And the dog said to the goat "didn't I tell you, have you seen it?" And the hyena caught the goat and ate it. The dog turned and run-away home.

Kɛ́	*kó*	*né*	*kùnù*	*è*	*káá*	*yɛ́*	*è*	*yá*	*búú*	*Bwàrè.*
Day	INDEF	CONJ	hyena	3SG	wake	say	3SG	go	cover	God

'One day, the hyena woke up and said it was going to worship as a Muslim'

Kó	*è*	*búú*	*Bwàrè*	*nlúé*	*wá*	*né*	*è*	*yè*	*è*
REL	3SG	cover	God	SC-finish	DET	CONJ	3SG	say	3SG

'When it finished doing that, it then said it was'

yɔ́	*Mákà*	*rɔ̀.*	*Né*	*Mákà*	*rɛ́*	*nó*	*ó*	*yɔ́*	*kám*	*bà*
go	Mecca	in.	CONJ	Mecca	TOP	CONJ	2SG	go	SC	come

'going to Mecca. And with Mecca, if you go and come back'

rɛ́	*ó*	*mám*	*bɔ́*	*mlà*	*álè.*	*lèlè*	*ón*	*yáá*	*bɔ́.*	*Dáŋàá*
TOP	2SG	NEG-FUT	make	bad	again	good	2SG-FUT	go	make	so

'you will not have to do bad. It is only good you will have to do. So'

kó è yɔ́ Mákà kám bà wá, kán bá lùà mù
REL 3SG go Mecca SC come DET SC come arrive 3SG
'when it went to Mecca and came back and arrived at its'

kàbò kán chìnà. ké kó né kàntètè séé bá tú mu
Place SC stay day INDEF CONJ dog goat come meet 3SG
'place to stay. One day, goat went to meet the dog'

yé bì yè kùnù è yɔ́ Mákà kám bà dáŋàá í
say 3PL say hyena 3SG go Mecca SC come so let
'and said, they say the hyena has returned from Mecca so let'

nà à yɔ́ kán há mú klà. Né kàntètè yè éé
CONJ 1PL go SC give 3SG greet CONJ dog say INTJ
'us go and greet it. And dog said'

séé sén kó ó yè díá ná á yɔ́ èn
goat matter INDEF 2SG say DEM COND 1PL go 3SG-FUT
'goat, what you have just said if we go will it'

yíè ání à? nè séé yè áà kó è yɔ́ Mákà
leave 1PL PART CONJ goat say INTJ REL 3SG go Mecca
'spare us? And goat said, since it has gone to Mecca'

kám bà díá è búú Bùárè ɛ̀. è màm bɔ́
SC come DEM 3SG cover God PART 3SG NEG-FUT do
'and come back. It has called God. It will not do'

sèn mlà. álé í nà à yɔ́. Né bì káá kán
matter bad again. Let CONJ 1PL go CONJ 3PL wake SC
'bad again. Let us go. And they rose and'

yɔ́. Né kàntètè yè séé ó kòó ó nyí mù lànɔ̀
go CONJ dog say goat 2SG EMP 2SG know 3SG house
'went. And dog said goat, you are the one that knows the hyena's house'

ɛ̀ jòmkprá. né séé jòmkprá né bì yɔ́ kán
part lead CONJ goat lead CONJ 3PL go SC
'take the lead. And goat took the lead and they went and'

yá lùà yé àgòò né kùnù è húlà yé mné
go arrive say knock CONJ hyena 3SG respond say who
'arrived and knocked. And hyena responded saying who'

ná péɛ? yé ànía nà. Né séé è lúà kán hǎ
FOC PART say 1PL FOC CONJ goat 3SG enter SC give
'is it at all? And they said it is us. And goat entered and'

mù klà. Né kàntètè mùà yìlí kàbnɔ̀ pé rɔ́ kán hǎ
3SG greet CONJ dog 3SG.IND stand door hole in sc give
'greeted hyena. And dog stood at the entrance of the cave and greeted'

mù klà. Né è yè mné nà péé? né séé yè
3SG greet CONJ 3SG say who FOC PART CONJ goat say
'and hyena said who at all is it and goat said'

kàntètè	nà	é	yè	è	lùá	nféé	ná	á	hǎ	ó
dog	FOC	1SG	say	3SG	enter	here	CONJ	1PL	give	2SG

'it is dog. I have said it should enter here so we can greet you'

klá	né	è	yè	è	màn	lúá.	Né	é	yè	ó
greet	CONJ	3SG	say	3SG	NEG-FUT	enter	CONJ	1SG	say	2SG

'and it said it will not enter. And I said you'

yɔ́	Mákà	kám	bà	ó	mán	bɔ́	mlà	álè̀.	Né	kùnù
go	Mecca	SC	come	2SG	NEG-FUT	make	bad	again	CONJ	hyena

'have gone to Mecca and come back you will not do bad again. And hyena'

láŋè	kán	yè	yé	é	yɔ́	Mákà	kám	bà	kélè̀
turn	SC	say	say	1SG	go	Mecca	SC	come	true

'turned and said, yes, it is true that I have gone to Mecca and come back'

yé	bì	min	yé	nó	ó	bá	tú	mí	pé	díá
say	3pl	neg	say	cond	2sg	come	meet	1sg	hole	this

'they did not say if you come and meet me in my cave'

rɔ̀	mín	yíè̀	ò.	né	kàntètè	yè	é	mín	yé	à
in	1SG	leave	2SG	CONJ	dog	say	1SG	NEG	say	PART

'I should leave you. And dog said, didn't I say it?

nó	ó	kìnì	à?	Né	è	pía	séé	kán	wè	né
CONJ	2SG	see	PART	CONJ	3SG	catch	goat	SC	chew	CONJ

'and have you (goat) seen it? and it (hyena) caught goat and chewed and'

kàntètè	mùà	láŋè	kán	hlé	kán	bà	lánɔ̀.	Dáŋàá	né	bì
dog	3SG	turn	SC	ran	SC	come	house	so	COND	3PL

'dog turned and ran back home. So, if they'

yé	kùnù	è	yɔ́	Mákà	kám	bà	yé	è	yíé	mù
say	hyena	3SG	go	Mecca	SC	come	say	3SG	leave	3SG

'say hyena has gone to Mecca and come back and left his'

mlà	bì	mìn	yé	nó	ó	bá	tù	mú	lánɔ̀.	Nó
bad	3PL	NEG	say	COND	2SG	come	meet	3SG	house	COND

'bad ways, they did not say that if you come and meet it at its house. If'

ó	tú	mú	lánɔ̀	dáŋàá	èn	pía	wó	kán	wè
2SG	meet	3SG	house	then	3SG-FUT	catch	2SG	SC	chew

'you go and meet it at its house, then it will catch you and chew you'

(doy_20161122_42_EDD_KMNSADKNANAK_more folktales and idioms_cont # 68)

9. This story was told in Nafaanra by Mr. Emmanuel Dwirah (Nana Shiembor Agba II) on 22nd November 2016 in Dompofie. It was translated into Dompo by Mr. Daniel Kofi Nakpa and Mr. Kosi Mila. It was translated into English by me.

WHY THE DOG CANNOT STOP STEALING

The dog said that people insulted it too much for being a thief so it was going to look for medicine to cure itself so that it will not steal again. It thus went to see the rabbit and told the rabbit that it was looking for medicine to cure itself. Then the rabbit said, "okay I will give you medicine to cure you. "Go and look for pork and bring it" Then the dog went to look for the meat and brought it and the rabbit told the dog "come and sit down. I am going to put it over the fire for it to dry so that I can use it to prepare the medicine for you". So, the rabbit took the meat and put it on the fire. The fat from the meat was falling into the fire so the dog stood up and went to turn it and said to the rabbit "my friend, I am turning the meat a bit "and the rabbit replied "okay, turn it" After some time, the dog said again "my friend I am turning it like this" and the rabbit replied "okay, turn it, but how you will do it until it's morning for me to use it to prepare the medicine for you is all in your hands (up to you)". After some time, the dog said that it was taking the meat to put under its pillow because ants were worrying it and would not let it sleep. After some time, it again said it was taking the meat from under the pillow and would carry it on its head. And the rabbit said, "okay how you will do it until morning comes is up to you". Then sometime later, the dog said that mice were climbing it and would not let it sleep so it was going to put the meat in its mouth. Then rabbit said that "okay, but how you will do it until morning comes is up to you". Then the dog put the meat in its mouth and by the time morning came, it had chewed it. That's why the dog was not cured of stealing and thus cannot stop stealing.

Kàntètè è		*yé*	*né*	*è*	*bɔ̀*	*bì*	*júlé*	*mù.*	*Bì*	*júlé*	*mù*
Dog	3SG	say	COND	3SG	make	3PL	insult	3SG	3PL	insult	3SG

'Dog said it happened that people insult it. They insult it'

kán	*chò.*	*Né*	*è*	*yè*	*è*	*yá*	*léé*	*drú*		*lóŋó*	*èm*	*bɔ*
SC	pass	CONJ	3SG	say	3SG	go	want	medicine		how	3SG-FUT	make

'too much. And so, it said it wanted some medicine'

nè	*mùà*	*láá*	*yúrí*	*álè̀.*	*Né*	*è*	*yɔ́*	*káá*	*yá*	*wú*	*lɔ̀ŋɔ̀.*
CONJ	3SG	also	steal	again	CONJ	3SG	go	SC	go	see	rabbit

'and so, it will not steal again. And it went to see rabbit'

Yɛ́	*mù*	*nàkpáà*	*nà.*	*Né*	*è*	*yɛ́*	*drú*		*é*	*léé*	*lóŋó*
say	3SG	friend	FOC	CONJ	3SG	say	medicine		1SG	want	how

'saying rabbit is its friend. And it said it is medicine I want and how'

mím	*bɔ*	*nè*	*mán*	*yúrí*	*álè̀.*	*Né*	*lɔ̀ŋɔ̀*	*yè*	*yòò.*	*Mín*	*wúrá*
1SG-FUT	make	CONJ	1SG-FUT	steal	again	CONJ	rabbit	say	okay	1SG-FUT	enter

'I will do it so that I will not steal again. And rabbit said okay. I will put'

drú		*ó*	*krɔ́.*	*dáŋàá*	*yà*	*léé*	*nfàmnè*		*kíní*	*pó*	*blǎ*
medicine		2SG	side	so	go	want	backyard		watch	person	meat

'medicine for you. So, go and look for pork meat'

kán	bá	né	è	yá	léé	mú	kán	bà.	Né	lɔ̀ŋɔ̀	yé
SC	come	CONJ	3SG	go	want	3SG	SC	come	CONJ	rabbit	say

'and bring it. And it went to look for it and brought it. And rabbit said'

yòò	bà	chínà	ɛ̀ɛ̀.	mín		dàŋà	mú	dèɛ̀	wó	nè	mù
INTJ	come	sit	PART	1SG-FUT		put	3SG	fire	on	CONJ	3SG

'Okay. Come and sit down. I will put it over the fire so it'

wúló	né	é	nyá	kán	wùrà	drú		wá	ó	krɔ́.
Dry	CONJ	1SG	get	SC	put	medicine		DET	2SG	side

'can dry so I can get to use it to prepare the medicine for you'

Léé		è	dù	nè	lɔ̀ŋɔ̀	è	hɔ́ɔ̀	blǎ	wá	kán	dàŋà
Like this		3SG	plant	CONJ	rabbit	3SG	collect	meat	DET	SC	put

'This was how it was, and rabbit collected the meat and put'

dèɛ̀	wó.	Lóŋó	blǎ	wáá	bɔ́	káá	trɔ́	dèɛ̀	wó	né
fire	on	how	meat	DET	make	SC	fall	fire	on	CONJ

'it on fire. How the fat from the meat was falling onto the fire'

kàntètè	káá	kán	yá	blì	mú.	Né	è	yé	mí	nákpáá
dog	wake	SC	go	mix	3SG	CONJ	3SG	say	1SG	friend

'made the dog stand up and go to mix the meat. And it said, my friend'

mín	blí	mú	léé	né	è	yé	yòò	blì
1SG-FUT	mix	3SG	like this	CONJ	3SG	say	INTJ	mix

'I will mix it like this. And (rabbit) said okay mix'

mú	ɛ̀.	Né	è	bɔ̀	yé	mí	nákpáá	è	bɔ́	léé
3SG	PART	COND	3SG	make	say	1sg	friend	3sg	make	like this

'it. After some time, dog said, my friend, this is how it is'

Mín	blí	mú	né	mùà	yé	yà	blí	mú.	Lóŋó	ón
1SG-FUT	mix	3SG	CONJ	3SG.IND	say	go	mix	3SG	How	2SG-FUT

'I will mix it and rabbit said go and mix it. How you will'

bɔ́	mù	nè	kádé	kè	nìn	wúrá	drú	wá	ó	krɔ́
make	3SG	CONJ	dawn	tomorrow	CONJ.1SG.FUT	enter	medicine	DET	2SG	side

'do it till tomorrow comes and I will put it in the medicine for you'

mù	kó	è	dù	fné	wó.	Né	è	bɔ̀	né	è
3SG	INDEF	3SG	plant	that	on	CONJ	3SG	make	CONJ	3SG

'is all on you (up to you). After some time, it'

kɛ́ɛ́	mú	káá	yá	wùrà	kpá	kó	è	dí.	Yɛ́	ŋglè
Take	3SG	SC	go	enter	place	INDEF	3SG	sleep	say	ants

'dog took the meat and put it where it sleeps. It said ants'

áná	màn	yí	nè	mù	déhè.	Bì	wɔ	káá	báhé	mú
QUANT	NEG-FUT	let	CONJ	3SG	sleep	3PL	be at	SC	worry	3SG

'will not let it sleep. They were worrying it'

yé	dáŋàá	èn		líá	mú	nɔ̀nɔ́	kán	hùlà	mú.	Né	è
say	so	3SG-FUT		remove	3SG	there	SC	carry	3SG	CONJ	3SG

'so it will remove it from there and carry it'

yé	*yòò*	*lóŋó*	*ón*	*bɔ́*	*nè*	*kádé*	*kè.*		*Né*	*é*	*kéé*
say	okay	how	2SG-FUT	make	CONJ	dawn	tomorrow		CONJ	3SG	take

'and rabbit said okay. How you will do it till morning comes. And it (dog) took'

mú	*kán*	*hùlà.*	*Yέ*	*kàtnɔ*	*áná*	*wɔ*	*káá*	*díí*	*mú.*	*Bi*
3SG	SC	carry.	Say	mouse	QUANT	be at	SC	climb	3SG	3PL

'it and carried it. It said mice were climbing it. They'

màn	*yi*	*nè*	*mù*	*dí.*	*Yέ*	*dáŋàá*	*èn*	*wúrá*	*mú*	*mù*
NEG-FUT	let	CONJ	3SG	sleep	say	so	3SG-FUT	enter	3SG	3SG

'will not let it sleep. So, it will put it in its'

kánú.	*Né*	*è*	*yé*	*yòò.*	*Lóŋó*	*ón*	*bɔ́*	*nè*	*kádé*	*kè*
mouth	CONJ	3SG	say	okay	how	2SG-FUT	make	CONJ	dawn	tomorrow

'mouth. And rabbit said okay. How you will do it till morning comes'

nìn	*wúrá*	*drú*	*ó*	*krɔ.*	*Né*	*è*	*wúrá*	*mú*	*ŋgbì*	*rɔ*
CONJ.1SG.FUT	enter	medicine	2SG	side	CONJ	3SG	enter	3SG	cheek	in

'and I will put it in the medicine for you. And it (dog) put it in its cheek'

Kádé	*ké*	*léé*	*né*	*kàntètè*	*è*	*wé*	*àmú.*	*Nɔnɔ́*	*è*	*yílí*
Dawn	tomorrow	like this	CONJ	dog	3SG	chew	PL.3SG	There	3SG	stand

'That is how morning came and the dog had chewed the meat. That is where it stands'

né	*kàntètè*	*ré*	*è*	*màn*	*tín*	*yié*	*mù*	*yùrì*	*ré*	*mù*	*nà*
CONJ	dog	TOP	3SG	NEG-FUT	BE.ABLE	leave	3SG	steal	TOP	3SG	FOC

'that dog cannot stop stealing. That is it.

(doy_20161122_42_EDD_KMNSADKNANAK_more folktales and idioms_cont # 71)

10. This story was told in Nafaanra by Mr. Emmanuel Dwirah (Nana Shiembor Agba II) on 22nd November 2016 in Dompofie. It was translated into Dompo by Mr. Daniel Kofi Nakpa and Mr. Kosi Mila. It was translated into English by me.

THE MAN WHO UNDERSTOOD THE LANGUAGE OF ANIMALS

There was a man who reared animals. He reared a fowl and also reared a cow and a donkey. He rode the donkey to the market. As for the cow, he took that one to the farm for it to plough the field. The cow would plough a lot and when it got home, it was always very tired. One day the cow said to the donkey "yours is good. If the man does not go to the market, you do not go anywhere". And the man understood the language of the animals. When the animals talked, he understood. One day, the donkey said to the cow "when they take you to the farm do not plough. As soon as you get there, fall and lie down. Do not wake up. When they give you food, spit it on the floor. Do not eat it." Then the cow said it had heard. The man understood all that the donkey was telling the cow. When morning came, the child took the cow to the farm. When they reached there, the cow turned and fell on the ground. When the boy beat it, it did not wake up, he did everything to the cow but still the cow did not wake up. He gave the cow food, but it spat it on the ground and did not eat. When they returned, the boy told the man "today when we went to the farm, the cow could not plough, it did not eat. It did not do any work. As soon as we reached the farm, it fell on the ground and lay there." Then the man said "this is no issue. When morning comes, send the donkey to the farm". Then in the morning, the boy took the donkey to the farm and they beat the donkey and it worked very hard until it got so tired. So, the donkey wanted to be free of this hard work but it did not know how to tell the cow to go back to do its original work. When they arrived home, the donkey said to the cow "cow, your master said he will sell you to

the people who sell meat. They will kill you and remove your skin to give to the tailors for them to use it to sew garments. So, tomorrow, when they send you to the farm, use all your might to plough well so they do not sell you". That is how the donkey got its freedom.

Nyìnè	*kó*	*è*	*káà,*	*káá*	*blá*	*só*	*áná.*	*È*	*blá*	*kòsì*	*káá*
Man	INDEF	3SG	wake	SC	raise	animal	QUANT.	3SG	raise	fowl	SC

'A man woke up and was raising animals. He raised fowl and '

láá	*blá*	*nàà*	*né*	*kùnù.*	*Né*	*è*	*káá*	*díi*	*dáŋàá*	*káá*	*yó*
also	raise	cow	CONJ	donkey.	CONJ	3SG	SC	climb	that	SC	go

'also raised a cow and a donkey. And he climbed that one (donkey) to go'

fɛ̀ɛ̀kpà	*wó.*	*Né*	*nàà*	*wá*	*ré*	*è*	*kɛ́ɛ́*	*dáŋàá*	*nè*	*mù*
market	on	CONJ	cow	DET	TOP	3SG	take	that	CONJ	3SG

'to the market. And as for cow, he took that one and he'

yáá	*yó*	*ndɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ́*	*káá*	*dɔ́ɔ́.*	*Dáŋàá*	*nɔ̀nɔ́*	*è*	*wɔ̀*	*né*	*è*	*yírà*
go	go	farm	SC	weed.	So	there	3SG	be at	CONJ	3SG	bring

'went to the farm to plough. So, it was there that he brought cow'

nàà.	*Nàà*	*è-n*	*tín*	*dɔ̀ɔ̀*	*kámà*	*né*	*è*	*bá*	*lùá*	*lánɔ̀*	*è*
cow.	Cow	3SG-FUT	BE.ABLE	weed	well	COND	3SG	come	arrive	house	3SG

'cow it will be able to plough well. If it got home, it'

gbró.	*È*	*gbró*	*léé.*	*Kɛ́*	*kó*	*né*	*è*	*yé*	*kùnù*	*krɔ̀*	*yé*
tired	3SG	tired	like this	day	INDEF	CONJ	3SG	say	donkey	side	COP

'it was tired. Very tired like this. One day it said to the donkey yours is'

éé	*fũ̀à*	*yé*	*chùàlɛ́*	*né*	*bì*	*mìn*	*yáá*	*yó*	*fɛ̀ɛ̀kpà*	*wó*	*ré*
INTJ	2SG.IND	say	good	COND	3PL	NEG	go	go	market	on	TOP

'yours is good. If they do not go to the market'

fũ̀à	*màn*	*yó*	*kàbò*	*kó.*	*Né*	*nyìnè*	*wá*	*ré*	*è*	*núú*	*só*
2SG.IND	NEG-FUT	go	place	INDEF	CONJ	man	DET	TOP	3SG	hear	animal

'you do not go anywhere. And the man, he understood animal'

máléé.	*Né*	*só*	*áná*	*máléé*	*ré*	*è*	*nú.*	*Dáŋàá*	*né*	*bì*	*wɔ̀*
speak	COND	animal	QUANT	speak	TOP	3SG	hear	so	REL	3PL	be at

'speech. When animals speak, he hears. So, when they were there'

nɔ̀	*né*	*kùnù*	*yé*	*dédìà*	*krɔ̀*	*yé*	*né*	*ó*	*báá*	*yɔ̀*	*ré*
there	CONJ	donkey	say	this one	side	say	REL	2SG	come	go	TOP

'and donkey said to the donkey, that when you go'

kɛ́	*kó*	*bàn*	*yírá*	*wó*	*ndɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ́*	*wó*	*á*	*báá*	*dɔ̀ɔ̀.*	*Né*	*bì*
day	INDEF	3PL	bring	2SG	farm	2SG	NEG	come	weed.	COND	3PL

'one day when they bring you to the farm, do not plough. If they'

yá	*lùá*	*ndɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ́*	*nɔ̀*	*tó*	*nó*	*ò*	*trɔ̀*	*kán*	*dèhè.*	*Ó*	*á*
go	arrive	farm	there	INT	CONJ	2SG	fall	SC	sleep	2SG	NEG

'arrive at the farm, and you immediately fall and lie there. You should not'

bàà *kàá.* *Né* *bì* *bà* *hǎ̌* *ò* *jísɔ́* *nó* *ò* *fó* *mù*
come wake COND 3PL come give 2SG eat-thing CONJ 2SG blow 3SG
'wake. If they come and give you food, you should blow it'

kán *wùrà* *kàwòlé* *rɔ́.* *Ó* *á* *bàà* *jì* *mú.* *Né* *è* *yé*
SC enter ground in 2SG NEG come eat 3SG CONJ 3SG say
'and throw on the ground. You should not eat it. And it said'

é *nú.* *Nyìnè* *wá* *è* *láá* *nú* *ásɔ́* *ána* *kámáléé.*
1SG hear. Man DET 3SG also hear PL-animal QUANT language
'say I have heard. The man also understood the language of animals'

Kó *kùnù* *è* *yé* *nàà* *krɔ̀* *wá* *nyìnè* *wá* *è* *nú* *mù.*
INDEF donkey 3SG say cow side DET man DET 3SG hear 3SG
'Whatever the donkey told the cow, he heard and understood it'

Àló *nà* *né* *kádé* *kè* *nè* *kàbìà* *wá* *è* *yírà* *nàà*
That is FOC REL dawn tomorrow CONJ child DET 3SG bring cow
'That is how it went and morning came and the child took the cow'

wá *ndɔ́ɔ́rɔ́.* *Kó* *è* *yá* *fò* *nɔ́* *né* *è* *bìlɔ́* *tó* *kán*
DET farm REL 3SG go reach there CONJ 3SG turn INT SC
'to the farm. When it reached there, it turned and'

trɔ́ *káwòlé* *kán* *dèhè.* *Né* *è* *brí* *mú* *è* *mìn* *káà.* *È*
fall ground SC sleep CONJ 3SG beat 3SG 3SG NEG wake 3SG
'fell on the ground and slept. When the boy beat it, it did not wake. He'

bɔ́ *mù* *sò* *kò* *nàà* *wá* *mìn* *káà.* *È* *hǎ̌* *mù* *jísɔ́*
do 3SG thing INDEF cow DET NEG wake 3SG give 3SG eat-thing
'did everything to the cow but it did not wake. He gave it food'

né *è* *fó* *mù* *è* *mìn* *jí.* *Né* *è* *láŋè* *kán* *bà*
CONJ 3SG blow 3SG 3SG NEG eat CONJ 3SG return SC come
'and it blew it and did not eat. And he returned and came'

yé *kàbrè* *kó* *á* *yɔ́* *nàà* *wá* *è* *mìn* *tín* *kán* *dɔ́ɔ́*
say today REL 1PL go cow DET 3SG NEG BE.ABLE SC weed
'to say. Today, when we went, the cow could not plough'

è *mìn* *jí* *è* *mìn* *sɔ̌* *sɔ̌mì.* *Kó* *á* *yá* *lùá* *tó*
3SG NEG eat 3SG NEG do work REL 1PL go arrive INT
'It did not eat. It did not work. As soon as we arrived'

né *è* *trɔ́.* *Nɔ̀nɔ̀* *è* *déhè.* *Nɛ́* *nyìnè* *wá* *yé* *yòò.* *Dánàá*
CONJ 3SG fall there 3SG sleep CONJ man DET say okay so
'it fell. There it slept. And the man said, okay. So'

màà *sèn* *kó* *dédìá.* *Né* *è* *yé* *né* *kádé* *bà* *kè*
neg matter INDEF this CONJ 3SG say COND dawn come tomorrow
'This is not an issue. And he said when tomorrow comes'

nó	ó	yírà	kùnù	wá	ndɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ́.	Né	kádé	kὲ		né	è
CONJ	2SG	bring	donkey	DET	farm	REL	dawn	tomorrow		CONJ	3SG

'then you bring the donkey to the farm. When it was morning, the boy'

yírà	kùnù	wá	ndɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ́	né	bì	yá	brí	kùnù	né	é	sὃ
bring	donkey	DET	farm	CONJ	3PL	go	beat	donkey	CONJ	3SG	do

'brought the donkey to the farm. And they beat it and it did'

sὃmì	kán	gbrò	léé.	Dáŋàá	lóŋó	dìá	è	léé	mù	yìrò.	È
work	SC	tired	like this	so	how	DEM	3SG	want	3SG	body	3SG

'work and it was tired. So, it wanted to free itself. It'

mìn	nyí	kpá	kò	èn	kéé	kán	yɔ̀	nàà	krɔ̀	nὲ	mù
NEG	know	place	INDEF	3SG-FUT	take	SC	go	cow	side	CONJ	3SG

'did not know how it will go back to cow and'

yá	sὃ	sὃmì	nὲ	mù	nyá	mù	yìrò.	Né	bì	bá	lùà	lánɔ̀
go	do	work	CONJ	3SG	get	3SG	body	REL	3SG	come	arrive	house

'tell cow to go back to its work so it would get its freedom. When they arrived at home'

né	è	yέ	éé	nàà	ó	wúrá	wá	yὲ	èn	fέ	wó	kán
CONJ	3SG	say	INTJ	cow	2SG	owner	DET	say	3SG-FUT	sell	2SG	SC

'and it said to the cow. Cow, your owner said he will sell you and'

hɑ̌	bá	kó	bì	fέ	blɑ̌	nὲ	bán	mɔ̌ɔ̌	wò	kán	lìá	ó
give	PL	INDEF	3PL	sell	meat	CONJ	3PL	kill	2SG	SC	remove	2SG

'give you to those who sell meat and they will kill you and remove your'

wùló	kán	yá	hɑ̌	kpá	kó	bì	màá	nὲ	bí	yáá	kéé	kán
skin	SC	go	give	place	INDEF	3PL	sew	CONJ	3PL	go	take	SC

'skin and take to where people sew and they will use your skin'

màá	né	è	yέ	kὲ		né	bì	báá	yírà	wó	ndɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ
sew	CONJ	3SG	say	tomorrow		REL	3PL	come	bring	2SG	farm

'to sew. And (donkey) said tomorrow when they bring you to the farm'

kὲὲ	ó	yíró	kán	dɔ̀ɔ̀.	Àló		nà	né	kádé	kὲ	
Take	2SG	body	SC	weed	like that		FOC	CONJ	dawn	tomorrow	

'use all your strength to plough. That is how tomorrow came'

nὲ	bì	láŋè	yírà	nàà	ndɔ̀ɔ	né	nàà	káá	yá	dɔ́ɔ́.	Dáŋàá
CONJ	3PL	return	bring	cow	farm	CONJ	cow	SC	go	weed	so

'and they brought cow to the farm and cow ploughed. So'

àló		kùnù	nyá	mù	yìrò.
like that		donkey	get	3SG	body

'that is how donkey got its freedom'

(doy_20161122_42_EDD_KMNSADKNANAK_more folktales and idioms_cont # 73)

11. This story was told in Nafaanra by Mr. Emmanuel Dwirah (Nana Shiembor Agba II) on 22nd November 2016 in Dompofie. It was translated into Dompo by Mr. Daniel Kofi Nakpa and Mr. Kosi Mila. It was translated into English by me.

THE CHIEF'S HAPPY HORSE

There was a chief who bought a horse. The horse lived in the village. One day, the horse was very happy and was running around. When it ran about happily, it stepped on a child and killed the child. This went on for some time. Anytime it was happy, it stepped on a child and killed him/her. Then the people in the community all met and said "this is about our chief's horse, the way it runs around anytime it is happy and kills our children is not good. Let us tell our chief to remove it from this village" and they all agreed and said let us go and inform the chief. Then they said, "so when we meet the chief, who will tell this to the chief on our behalf"? Then one man said, "I can say it. When I say, horse, you say, it is not good, when I say, the chief's horse, you say, it is not good". Then they went to tell the chief about the meeting, and he met all of them. Then the chief asked what their matter was, and the man said to the people, "when I say this, then you all respond by saying that…" Then the man said, "the chief's horse". They all kept quiet. He said this, three times but there was no response from the people. Then the man said to the chief "your horse is a female so we think you should look for a male to add to it, to keep it company" Then they all sat there muttering to themselves. The man said to them afterwards "we all agreed that you would respond to what I said but you all sat there. Should I be the only one to say it so that the chief kills me"? If the man did not find another way out of this, he would have died.

Wúrá	*kó*	*è*	*káà,*	*káà*	*yá*	*tó*	*mù*	*gbáŋá*	*né*	*è*	*wò*
chief	INDEF	3SG	wake	SC	go	buy	3SG	horse	CONJ	3SG	be at

'A chief woke up and went to buy his horse and it was'

káwí	*wá*	*ró.*	*Kέ*	*kó*	*gbáŋá*	*wá*	*mù*	*nyììró*	*hòò*	*né*	*è*
village	DET	in	day	INDEF	horse	DET	3SG	face	get	CONJ	3SG

'in the village. One day, the horse was happy and it'

yέ	*èn*	*hlé*	*kán*	*chìchà*	*kàbìà*	*kán*	*mòò.*	*Mù*	*né*	*bì*	*yá*
say	3SG-FUT	run	SC	step	child	SC	kill	3SG	CONJ	3PL	go

'it said it will run and it stumped on a child and killed the child. It is the reason they went'

wú	*ábrá*	*kán*	*sìlà.*	*Yέ*	*wúrá*	*mù*	*gbáŋá*	*wá*	*lóŋó*	*è*	*hlé*
see	themselves	SC	gather.	Say	chief	3SG	horse	DET	how	3SG	run

'to see themselves and gathered. They said the chief, his horse, how it runs'

káà	*chíchá*	*mbìà*	*díá*	*káà*	*móó*	*díá,*	*bí*	*yí*	*nà*	*à*	*yέ*
SC	step	PL-child	DEM	SC	kill	DEM	3PL	let	CONJ	1PL	say

'and stumps on these children and kills them, let us tell'

mù	*krò*	*nè*	*mù*	*líá*	*mù*	*káwí*	*wá*	*ró.*	*Né*	*bì*	*hóó*
3SG	side	CONJ	3SG	remove	3SG	village	DET	in	CONJ	3PL	get

'him so he removes it from the village. And they believed'

mù	*kán*	*jì.*	*Né*	*bì*	*yá*	*bó*	*wúrá*	*mànìέ.*	*Yέ*	*kèlé*
3SG	CONJ	eat.	CONJ	3PL	go	make	chief	case.	Say	true

'him. And they went to make a case to the chief. Saying it is true'

nà.	*Yέ*	*ná*	*á*	*bá*	*yò*	*lóŋóá*	*mnέ*	*kó*	*è*	*tĭn*	*yílí*
FOC.	Say	COND	1PL	come	go	so	who	INDEF	3SG	BE ABLE	stand

'Saying if we go so who is it that can be able to stand'

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kán *yè* *mú* *péé?* *Né* *è* *yé* *kèlé* *nà* *míà* *tín* *yè*
SC say 3SG PART CONJ 3SG say true FOC 1SG BEABLE say
'and say it? And he said truly, I will be able to say'

mú. *Né* *é* *bá* *yé* *gbáŋá* *wá* *nè* *bí* *yé* *è* *mìn*
3SG. COND 1SG come say horse DET CONJ 2PL say 3SG NEG
'it. If I say horse, then you say it is not'

chùàlɛ́. *Wúrá* *gbáŋá* *wá* *nè* *bí* *yé* *è* *mìn* *chùàlɛ́.* *Né* *bì*
good. Chief horse DET CONJ 2PL say 3SG NEG good. CONJ 3PL
'good. The chief's horse then you say it is not good. And they'

yá *yé* *wúrá* *krɔ̀* *né* *bì* *yá* *sìlà* *kán* *bá* *srɛ̀.* *Né*
go say chief side CONJ 3PL go gather SC come meet. CONJ
'went to tell the chief and they all gathered and met. And'

wúrá *bìsà* *bán* *mánìé.* *Yé* *míà* *yè* *léé* *nè* *bán* *bí* *chá*
chief ask 3PL case. Say 1SG say this CONJ 2PL 2PL add
'chief asked them what their matter was. (The man) said, I say this, and you all will add'

mí *wó* *nà* *à* *yé* *mù* *léé.* *Kó* *è* *yè* *wúrá* *mù*
1SG on CONJ 1PL say 3SG this. REL 3SG say chief 3SG
'to it and we will say it like this. When he said chief his'

gbáŋá *wá* *né* *bì* *búú* *bán* *kánú.* *Wúrá* *gbáŋá* *wá* *né* *bì* *búú*
horse DET CONJ 3PL cover 3PL mouth. Chief horse DET CONJ 3PL cover
'horse and they were silent. The chief's horse, and they'

bán *kánú.* *Wúrá* *gbáŋá* *wá* *yé* *chèè* *nà* *bí* *yí* *nà* *à* *yá*
3PL mouth. Chief horse DET say woman FOC 3PL let CONJ 1PL go
'were silent. The chief's horse it is a woman, let us go'

lèé *nyíné* *kán* *bá* *chá* *mú* *wó.* *Né* *nɔ̀nɔ̀* *bì* *chìnà.* *Yé*
want male SC come add 3SG on. CONJ there 3PL sit. Say
'and look for a man to add to it. And there they sat. (The man) said'

ee! *míà* *yé* *wúrá* *gbáŋá* *wá* *né* *é* *yé* *né* *bí* *kìnì*
INTJ 1SG say chief horse DET REL 1SG say CONJ 2PL look
'I said the chief's horse and when I said it you all looked on'

à? *Mí* *kóó* *mí* *yé* *mù* *nè* *bí* *kwíí* *mí* *ŋù* *à?*
PART 1SG one 1SG say 3SG CONJ 3PL cut 1SG head PART
'I alone I should say it so that they cut off my head?'

Né *màá* *lò* *è* *tín* *kán* *kèé* *mù* *kánú* *kán* *màlèé*
COND NEG that 3SG BE ABLE SC take 3SG mouth SC speak
'If not the fact that he was able to use his mouth and spoke'

sèn *pɔ̀prɔ́* *nè* *bì* *mɔ́ɔ́* *mù.*
matter new REL 3PL kill 3SG
'a new matter, they would have killed him'

SOME DOMPO VOCABULARY

These words in Dompo are based on the SIL Comparative African Word List Manual by (Snider & Roberts 2006). The wordlist starts with the Dompo word. This is followed by the English gloss. Tones are marked on each word.

1.	*yìró*	body
2.	*yìrò blǎ*	skin
3.	*ŋù*	head
4.	*kákɔ́ɔ́ mnɛ́*	back of head
5.	*kásrɔ́*	forehead
6.	*nyììrɔ́*	face
7.	*nyìsì*	eye
8.	*nyìsì fúú*	eyebrow /eye lash
9.	*nyìsì kámnɛ́*	eye lid
10.	*nyìsì bíbrí*	pupil of eye
11.	*kàŋɔ̀nɔ̀*	nose
12.	*kàŋɔ̀nɔ̀ pɔ́ɔ́*	bridge of nose
13.	*sèpè*	ear
14.	*ŋgbí*	cheek
15.	*ntàntà*	side of cheek
16.	*kánú*	mouth
17.	*wúló*	lip
18.	*dàndúlò*	tongue
19.	*nyí*	tooth
20.	*nyì gbɔ̀ɔ̀*	molar tooth
21.	*kánú sósó*	palate
22.	*ŋgbì wúú*	jaw
23.	*káyɛ́*	chin
24.	*kɔ́nɔ́*	neck
25.	*kɔ́nɔ́ pɔ́ɔ́*	nape of neck
26.	*blóntnɔ̀*	throat
27.	*jì kpà* **(lit. eat path)**	voice box, larynx, Adam's apple.
28.	*ŋù̀ nyínɛ́*	hair (of head)
29.	*kánú fúú*	beard
30.	*yìrò fúú*	hair (of body)
31.	*bàà*	shoulder

32.	*bàà wúú*	shoulder blade
33.	*kágbʊ́nɔ*	chest
34.	*nyópó*	breast
35.	*nyópó kánú*	nipple
36.	*ŋklɛ̀mɛ̀*	side (of the body)
37.	*srɛ́*	waist
38.	*pʊ́lú*	navel
39.	*pʊ́lú flá (lit. navel rope)*	umbilical cord
40.	*kámíáhé*	abdomen (external)
41.	*kámbrɔ́*	stomach (internal)
42.	*kámɛ́*	womb
43.	*kámnɛ́*	back
44.	*ntɔ̀nɔ̀ bá*	buttocks
45.	*ntɔ̀nɔ̀ pé hole*	anus
46.	*túrú*	penis
47.	*wúlɔ́*	testicle
48.	*tùpúú*	vagina
49.	*sɛ́ntrɛ́*	clitoris
50.	*hàlɛ́*	arm, upper arm
51.	*bàà pé*	armpit
52.	*hàlɛ́ ŋgɔ̀lí*	elbow
53.	*hàlɛ́ mbólí*	forearm
54.	*hàlɛ́ gbɔ̀ɔ̀*	wrist
55.	*hàlɛ́*	hand
56.	*gbɔ́ɔ́tó*	fist
57.	*hàlɛ́ kámbrɔ́*	palm of hand
58.	*hàlɛ́ mbì*	finger
59.	*hàlɛ́ nyìŋgbò*	thumb
60.	*hàlɛ́ gbɔ̀ɔ̀*	knuckle
61.	*ŋkr�òfɛ́*	fingernail
62.	*yáá*	leg
63.	*jàmplò*	thigh
64.	*ŋgɔ̀lí*	knee
65.	*yáá pɔ́ɔ́*	shin, calf of leg
66.	*yáá kʊ́nɔ*	ankle
67.	*yàà nààrɛ́*	foot
68.	*yáá kámnɛ́*	heel
69.	*yáá kámbrɔ́*	sole

70.	*yáá nyìŋgbò*	toe
71.	*wúú*	bone
72.	*wúú bólí*	bone marrow
73.	*wúú*	skeleton
74.	*ŋù káwè* (Lit. head pot)	skull
75.	*kágbónɔ́ wúú*	breastbone
76.	*kámnɛ́ wúú*	spine, backbone
77.	*ŋklɛ̀mè wúú*	rib
78.	*ŋù bólí*	brain
79.	*kágbíní*	heart
80.	*bròchɛ́ɛ́*	liver
81.	*ŋkpèchɛ̀ɛ́*	kidney
82.	*fɔ̀rɔ̀fɔ̀rɔ́*	lung
83.	*kámbrɔ́ flá* (Lit. stomach rope)	intestines
84.	*bùŋflɔ̀ tró* (Lit. urine bottle)	bladder
85.	*kákráhɛ́*	gall bladder
86.	*trɔ́ blɑ̌*	muscle
87.	*wúú blɑ̌*	tendon
88.	*chǐnǐ*	vein
89.	*fóté*	breath
90.	*mɛ́ɛ́*	phlegm
91.	*chólɛ́*	saliva
92.	*kàŋɔ̀nɔ̀ wúló*	nasal mucus
93.	*sèpè bíní*	earwax
94.	*mɛɛ*	phlegm
95.	*nyìsì sɑ̌*	tears
96.	*ŋklà*	blood
97.	*bùŋflɔ́*	urine
98.	*nyìnè nsɑ̀*	semen
99.	*bíní / kɔ́ɔ́*	excrement, faeces
100.	*ŋmɛ́ɛ́ nyísí* (lit. hit eye)	wink / blink (eye)
101.	*fɛ́ɛ́ mɛ́ɛ́*	blow nose
102.	*fóté*	breathe
103.	*kónɔ́*	snore
104.	*fóté mlámlá*	pant
105.	*fó*	blow
106.	*fó chólɛ́*	spit
107.	*wásá*	cough

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108.	*gbèsè*	belch
109.	*yìlí yìlí*	hiccough
110.	*ŋàsìí*	sneeze
111.	*kɛ̃́ɛ̃́*	groan, grunt
112.	*fṹɛ́*	fart
113.	*bùŋflɔ́*	urinate
114.	*kɔ́ɔ́*	defecate
115.	*pípíí*	perspire, sweat
116.	*ŋklà líré*	bleed
117.	*gbô*	coagulate, clot
118.	*nyììrɔ́ brì* **(lit. face beat)**	be dizzy
119.	*dèhè*	sleep
120.	*dàré*	dream
121	*tìŋè*	wake up
121.	*wù̀*	see
122.	*kíní*	look
123.	*nú*	hear
124.	*yà nú*	listen
125.	*ŋúfá*	smell
126.	*nú́*	feel
127.	*dáá*	taste
128.	*jí*	eat
129.	*dṹŋ*	bite
130.	*shìɛ́*	crunch
131.	*wé*	chew
132.	*mínɛ́*	swallow
133.	*déénsá*	lick
134.	*pípíí*	suck
135.	*nû*	drink
136.	*chìnà*	sit
137.	*kàà yílí*	rise up
138.	*dèhè*	lie down
139.	*bìlɔ́*	turn around
140.	*nàaré*	walk
141.	*chìchà*	step, stump
142.	*fùtì*	stumble
143.	*gbĩ́síí*	limp
144.	*wèlé*	crawl

145.	*hlé*	run
146.	*lá*	swim
147.	*téé*	jump
148.	*ŋmὲὲ*	kick
149.	*ŋméέ hálé*	clap
150.	*kpà*	slap
151.	*yìlí*	stand
152.	*gbàhà*	lean against
153.	*jɔ̀ŋà*	squat
154.	*ŋúnú*	bow
155.	*gúnú*	kneel
156.	*bádὲὲ*	be hot
157.	*kánkó*	be hungry/ hunger
158.	*mὒέ*	be sated
159.	*blòfέ*	be thirsty/thirst
160.	*bóó*	be drunk
161.	*gbró*	be tired
162.	*dí*	be sleepy
163.	*wìsì*	rest
164.	*tìŋè*	be awake/ alert
165.	*trá pó*	blind person
166.	*ŋ̃ŭ fὲὲ*	be bald
167.	*nà mù*	deaf / mute person
168.	*gàgɔ̀ wúrá*	hunch back
169.	*bɔ́ɔ́*	cripple
170.	*shìà sǐ*	dwarf
171.	*shìà yìlí*	giant
172.	*shìà jɔ́hὲ*	stupid person
173.	*dáŋ po*	senile person
174.	*lóm pò*	mad person
175.	*lɔ́*	be ill
176.	*sàŋgè rɔ́*	heal, cure
177.	*drú*	medicine
178.	*pṹá*	abscess, swelling
179.	*wùlɔ́ pṹá*	hernia
180.	*pṹá mlà*	tumor
181.	*blòntnɔ̀ pṹà*	goitre
182.	*ŋkpà*	life

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183.	*kùrè*	give birth, bear child
184.	*dã̀*	be old
185.	*wúʼ*	die
186.	*lè̩ wù*	death
187.	*búní*	corpse
188.	*hɔ̀ɔ̀ njì*	believe / hope
189.	*nyí*	know something
190.	*ŋùsé*	knowledge
191.	*nyìsé*	wisdom / wise
192.	*jɔ́hɛ̀*	stupid
193.	*jùlà*	learn
194.	*ŋnà*	teach / show
195.	*nyìŋè*	remember
196.	*tã̋*	forget
197.	*nyììrɔ́ hɔ̀ɔ̀*	be happy
198.	*mùsèé*	laugh
199.	*jí wùrɔ́*	sad
200.	*sṹ*	cry/weep
201.	*nyìsì tá*	shame
202.	*nrá*	fear
203.	*gbó*	be angry
204.	*yìrò gbɔ̃́ɔ̃́*	be proud
205.	*hɔ̀ɔ̀ njì*	respect
206.	*lɛ̀ɛ̀*	thanks
207.	*dó/ kìsì*	hate
208.	*léé*	like/ love/ want/ desire
209.	*kàmbrɔ̀ blɛ̀*	be kind / generous
210.	*hàlé lè*	be selfish
211.	*nìŋè*	be honest
212.	*ŋù lé*	be wicked
213.	*nyìsì pré*	be jealous
214.	*nyìsì tá*	be shy
215.	*kágbúnɔ́ wúá*	be courageous/ brave
216.	*nyìsì pré*	be curious /be eager
217.	*dèntlɔ̀*	be lazy
218.	*yì tà*	be patient
219.	*sɛ̀pɛ̀ fɔ́ɔ́*	be stubborn
220.	*shíá*	human being / person

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221.	*mí yíró*	myself
222.	*nyìnè*	man / male
223.	*chèè*	woman
224.	*shìà pèprè*	white man
225.	*kámɛ́*	foetus
226.	*kàbìà pɔ́prɔ̀*	baby
227.	*ntàà nà*	twins
228.	*kàbìà*	child
229.	*bì nyìnè*	boy
230.	*bì chèè*	girl
231.	*kàdrè*	adult
232.	*kàbìtrè*	young man
233.	*shìà nùm*	old person
234.	*jí sɔ́*	food
235.	*blǎ́*	meat
236.	*fwɛ*	fat
237.	*ŋkǜ*	oil
238.	*pó*	soup
239.	*shìà fǔflù kùràndé* (Lit. white person's bread)	bread
240.	*nyú fɔ́*	flour
241.	*ŋflɔ́*	salt
242.	*kàkùnà jísɔ́*	breakfast
243.	*kàdèèwó jísɔ́*	evening meal
244.	*kádúpɛ́*	left over
245.	*nyópó nsǚ*	milk
246.	*nsǜ nyà*	alcohol / beer
247.	*nsà fúflù*	palm wine
248.	*bɔ̀ jísɔ́*	prepare food
249.	*kwìì*	cut
250.	*kpàhè*	peel
251.	*blí*	mix
252.	*wésé*	pound
253.	*krɔ́*	grind / knead
254.	*frɛ́*	pluck feathers
255.	*dǎ́*	cook
256.	*tɔ́*	roast / bake
257.	*kèè*	fry
258.	*kálɔ́*	cooking pot

259.	jìlìhɔ̀	metal pot
260.	kápwέ	pot for water
261.	kàtòpò	laddle / spoon
262.	sré	cooking stone
263.	píním pɔ̀ɔ̀	pestle / pounding stick
264.	píní	motar /pounding pot
265.	lὲpέ	plate
266.	nùù sɔ̀	cup
267.	púrí	bag
268.	wùràsɔ̀	box
269.	káké	basket
270.	jrὲ sɔ̀	bucket
271.	tró	bottle
272.	kàlò kámbrɔ́	compound
273.	kátlú	hut
274.	mà	wall
275.	kló	door
276.	kàbùnɔ̀ pé	doorway
277.	bùŋè sɔ́	window
278.	kàwòlé	floor
279.	bù	room
280.	jísɔ́ bɔ́ kpá	kitchen
281.	dòmbólí	fence
282.	pé	well
283.	jrὲ kpà	bathing place
284.	kájá	chair
285.	mbùàjà	stool
286.	dèhè sɔ́	bed
287.	nyɔ̀ɔ̀ sɔ̀	lamp /torch
288.	áfúú sɔ́	fan
289.	ŋmànyàà sɔ̀	bell
290.	màà	sew
291.	màà sɔ̀	needle
292.	flá	thread
293.	púrí	pocket
294.	fàrèè	be torn
295.	kàchà	cloth
296.	kàchà sɨ̀	rag

297.	*pèsè*	broom
298.	*fèè*	sweep
299.	*kpàrèè*	polish
300.	*fró*	wash (clothes)
301.	*sàà nsừ*	draw water
302.	*dɔ́ɔ́*	dig
303.	*pí*	rubbish
304.	*ŋɔ̀sré*	money
305.	*tɔ́*	buy
306.	*fɛ̃́*	sell
307.	*kúlé ŋɔ̀sré*	beg for money
308.	*kɔ́*	debt
309.	*njɔ̀*	music/ song
310.	*bèènjɔ̀*	sing
311.	*kàblὲ*	whistle
312.	*cháá*	dance
313.	*Bwàrèngbò*	God (Supreme Being)
314.	*fóté mlá*	demon /evil spirit
315.	*kàyúú*	ghost
316.	*klὲ*	silk cotton tree/ kapok tree
317.	*ŋklèwú yí*	shea butter tree
318.	*wí yí*	thorn tree
319.	*kàjàgblὲ*	raffia palm
320.	*lírá*	baobab tree
321.	*kùwὲ*	coconut palm (one in the wild)
322.	*fá*	grass
323.	*káknɛ́*	bamboo
324.	*yìsòòrè yí*	oil palm tree
325.	*nfànà*	leaf
326.	*kájɔ́fwɛ́*	bark of tree
327.	*yí hálé*	branch of tree
328.	*yìsɩ̀*	stump
329.	*yì nsừ*	sap
330.	*lí*	root
331.	*shíírí*	red/hot pepper
332.	*kàgbènè*	okra
333.	*kàtrè*	egg plant
334.	*kájrɛ́wɛ́*	mushroom

335.	*ŋkràwè*	melon seeds
336.	*lí*	cassava
337.	*jɔ́*	yam
338.	*nflɔ̀ jɔ́*	sweet potatoes
339.	*bàsàwè*	maize/corn
340.	*nɛ̀ɛ́*	millet
341.	*dàŋgrà*	groundnut / peanut
342.	*pɔ̀sɛ̀ɛ́*	kola nut
343.	*ŋgɛ̂n*	sugar cane
344.	*kúràndé*	cotton
345.	*wángrá*	world
346.	*kàwòlé*	earth
347.	*sósó*	sky
348.	*kpèchɛ̀ɛ́*	cloud
349.	*pằ*	sun
350.	*flɛ̀*	moon
351.	*áfúú*	wind
352.	*bwàrè*	rain
353.	*mbónsú*	dew
354.	*nyìsé*	sand
355.	*chácháá*	gravel
356.	*yùrùpí*	dirt
357.	*dɔ́pɔ́ɔ́*	mud
358.	*bwì gbɔ̀ɔ̀*	rock
359.	*kàkè*	day
360.	*flɛ́*	month
361.	*káfáánú*	year
362.	*kàbrè*	today
363.	*ndré*	yesterday
364.	*màngré*	day before yesterday
365.	*kè*	tomorrow
366.	*mànkè*	day after tomorrow
367.	*dràwá*	olden times
368.	*kádéŋkɛ̀ɛ̀rè*	dawn
369.	*kàkònà*	morning
370.	*kàpàá*	noon / afternoon
371.	*kányáá*	night
372.	*nfèè*	here

373.	*nfèé nɔ́*	there
374.	*fɔ́fɔ́*	far
375.	*mbàtà*	near
376.	*sósó*	north
377.	*kàsè*	south
378.	*pã̀ knɔ́ kpá* **(Lit. 'sun rise place')**	east
379.	*pã̀ trɔ́ kpá* **(Lit. 'sun fall place')**	west
380.	*kájépé*	right
381.	*kàbnà*	left
382.	*jùlàkpà* **(Lit. learn place)**	school
383.	*Bwàrè kùlèkpà*	church
384.	*fɛ̀ɛ̀kpà*	market
385.	*jrèkpà*	bathroom
386.	*ndɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ́*	farm
387.	*drú bɔ́ kábó* **(Lit. medicine making place)**	hospital
388.	*pɔ́pɔ́ɔ́*	soap
389.	*chéé*	sponge
390.	*lìàsɔ̀*	towel
391.	*nàà*	cow
392.	*séé*	goat
393.	*sèndè*	sheep
394.	*kòsì*	fowl
395.	*chã̀*	guinea fowl
396.	*brɔ̀kɔ́kɔ́*	duck
397.	*gbáŋá*	horse
398.	*kùnùmù*	donkey
399.	*nfàmnè kínípó*	pig
400.	*kánú wúrà / kàntètè*	dog
401.	*kànyrànyìsì*	cat
402.	*slɔ́*	elephant
403.	*bɔ́ gbáŋá /chàà*	hippopotamus
404.	*gbɔ́*	buffalo
405.	*lùwì*	warthog
406.	*prɛ̀*	monkey
407.	*fààré*	green monkey
408.	*yà*	baboon
409.	*kùnù*	hyena
410.	*fáárɔ́ kántètè*	jackal

411.	*lɔ́rɔ́*	antelope
412.	*kùlélé*	pangolin/scaly anteater
413.	*kátnɔ́*	mouse
414.	*kòòrè*	rat
415.	*klá́*	grass cutter
416.	*plǎlé*	palm rat
417.	*kájáánú*	shrew
418.	*mpèndè kátnɔ́*	mole
419.	*lɔ̀ŋɔ̀*	hare
420.	*chápó*	squirrel
421.	*àwìsɔ́*	porcupine
422.	*kɔ̀ŋkɔ̀*	bat
423.	*bàràrì gbɔ̌ɔ̌*	civet cat
424.	*ŋkrɔ̀fɛ́sɔ́*	leopard
425.	*nyìnè gbɔ̌ɔ̌*	lion
426.	*kɔ́nɔ́ fúflú* **(Lit. white neck)**	crow
427.	*kàbwê*	'bird'
428.	*kàbwê shíá*	parrot
429.	*dòòwè*	patridge
430.	*sísíí*	owl
431.	*kàbwê gbɔ̌ɔ̌*	eagle
432.	*klěnté*	horn bill
433.	*làŋè*	hawk
434.	*nfàmnè kínípó*	vulture
435.	*tɛ́ɛ́*	feather
436.	bàà	wing
437.	*kàbwê kánú*	beak, bill
438.	*sésɛ́ɛ́*	comb of rooster
439.	*kòsì klěnté*	gizzard
440.	*ŋkrɔ̀fɛ́*	claw
441.	*kòsì flê*	egg
442.	*kòsì jɔ́fwɛ́*	egg shell
443.	*kàbɛ̌ɛ̌*	fish
444.	*bòlì*	cat fish
445.	*pɔ̀plɔ́*	mud fish
446.	*bóndɔ́ wè*	eel
447.	*ŋglà*	crab
448.	*kèntsè*	shrimp

449.	*fìà sɔ̀ (Lit. spin animal)*	snail
450.	*wɛ̀*	snake
451.	*wɛ̀ bíbrì*	spitting cobra
452.	*brɛ̀*	puff adder
453.	*ŋglɛ̀*	python
454.	*wɛ̀ jòò*	green mamba
455.	*làmbrɛ̀*	lizard
456.	*góŋgrɔ̀'*	chameleon
457.	*kàdènsá*	gecko
458.	*dùɛ̀*	water lizard
459.	*tàndè*	monitor lizard
460.	*lɛ̀ŋɛ̀*	crocodile
461.	*pló*	frog/toad
462.	*sèŋùnù*	tortoise
463.	*mááwì*	flea
464.	*ŋù sɔ́*	louse
465.	*wè sɔ́*	bed bug
466.	*tɛ̀brɛ́*	cockroach
467.	*fûnfɔ̀ɔ̀*	maggot
468.	*fĩ̀ĩnfĩ̀*	ant
469.	*ŋglɛ̀ gbɔ̀̃ɔ̀̃*	army/soldier ant
470.	*kánká*	termite
471.	*nànsɛ̀*	spider
472.	*kànàà*	scorpion
473.	*bínì húlá sɔ́ (Lit. faeces carrying animal)*	dung beetle
474.	*lɛ̀ɛ̀ ntnɔ̀*	grasshopper
475.	*pánsɛ̀ɛ̀*	cricket
476.	*làtrɔ̀*	locust
477.	*fûnfɔ̀ɔ̀*	caterpillar
478.	*kàkùlà kànàà*	centipede
479.	*nànàngló*	millipede
480.	*dììnchlɔ̀*	earthworm
481.	*chánsɛ̀ɛ̀*	fly
482.	*kápní*	mosquito
483.	*ŋɔ́nsé*	bee
484.	*nsɨ̀ sɔ́*	dragon fly
485.	*kàtótó*	butterfly
486.	*kàtótó gbɔ̀̃ɔ̀̃*	moth